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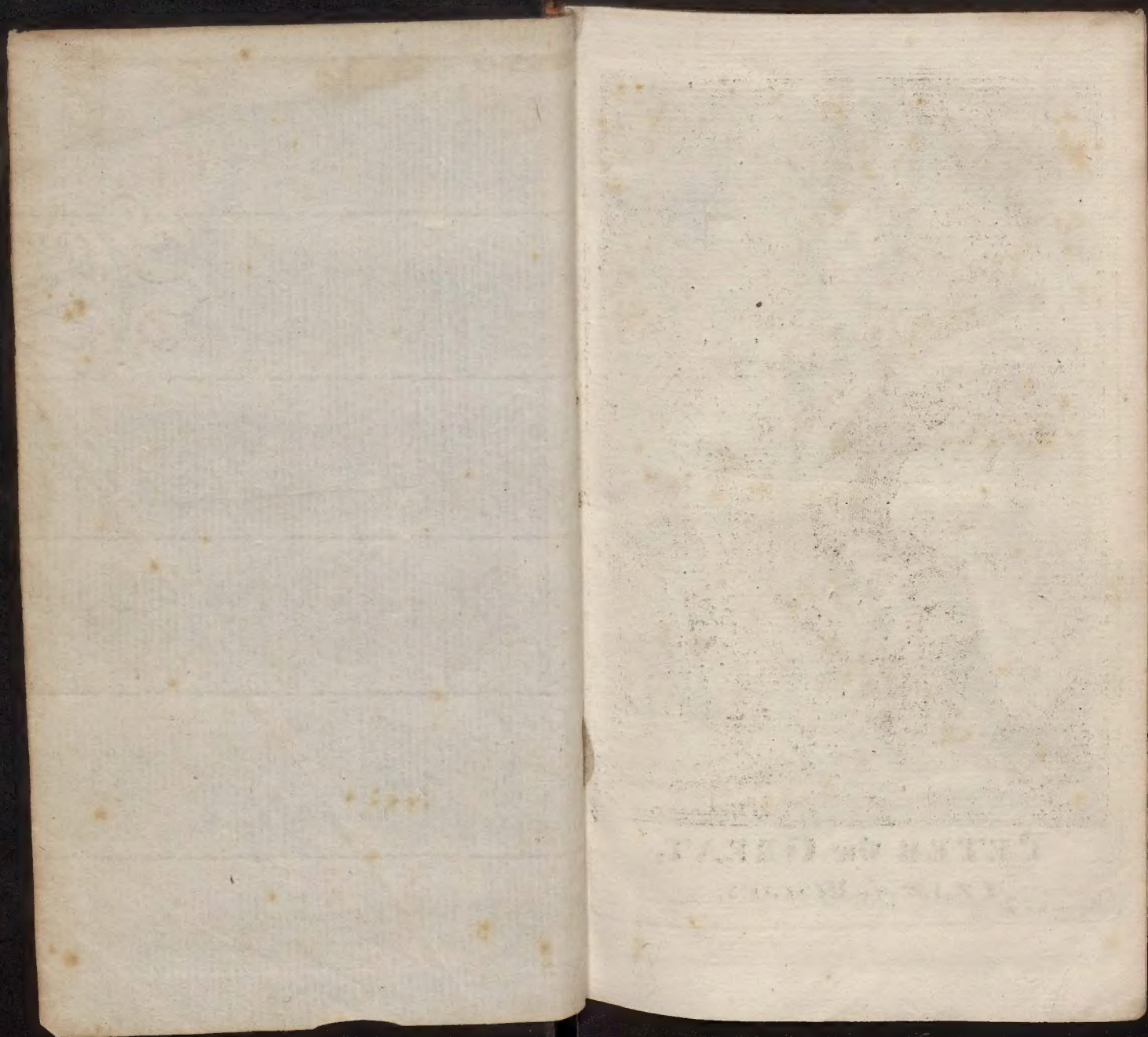
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PETER the GREAT,
CZAR of MUSCOVY.

Bickham. jun. sc.

THE *James Micklethwait*
HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE and REIGN

OF THE CZAR

PETER The GREAT,

EMPEROR of ALL RUSSIA,

And FATHER of His COUNTRY.

CONTAINING,

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|---|---|
| <p>I. His Travels, Studies, and Personal Fatigues, for the attaining of Knowledge in Civil and Military Affairs, and the Improvement of his Subjects.</p> <p>II. His Introduction of Arts and Sciences, a Naval Force, and Commerce with Foreign Nations: Also his many Re-formations in Church and State, the Army, and the Customs and Manners of his People.</p> | <p>III. His Wars with the Swedes, Turks, Tartars, and Persians; Victories by Sea and Land; Acquisitions of Territory, and Increase of Power.</p> <p>IV. His Regard to Genius and Merit, with the surprizing Instances of his Favour to General Le Fort, Prince Menzikoff, and the Empress Catherine: And his severe Justice on Offenders, particularly in the Proceedings against the rebellious Czarewitz.</p> |
|---|---|

De Belluchut
Thou, mighty CZAR, in that contracted Name,
Shalt out-reach Cæsar in thy Pow'r and Fame.—
Form and Degrees let earthy Spirits need;
Thy Soul, eccentric, moves with inbred Speed,
Makes Nature shake, and raises in a Day
What, with less Ease, in Ages shall decay. MR. HILL.

LONDON:

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THE



THE HISTORY OF PETER The Great, CZAR of MUSCOVY.

The FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

*A Description of Muscovy. Death of the Czar Peter's
Father, and his elder Brother Theodore. A Rebellion
raised by Princess Sophia, in Favour of her Brother
John, who is proclaimed Czar together with Peter.
Sophia's second Rebellion, and the End of her Regency.*



RUSSIA, or Muscovy, lying partly in
Europe and partly in Asia, is bounded on
the North by the Frozen Sea; on the East
by Chinese Tartary; on the South by the
Calmucks, Cuban Tartary, Georgia, the
Palus Meotis, Lesser Tartary, the Euxine
and Caspian Seas; and on the West by Poland and Swe-
den. In Length, from West to East, it is 1500 Leagues;
and

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and in Breadth, from the *Euxine Sea* to the known Parts

of *Nova Zembla*, above 600; extending from 47 Degrees of North Latitude, beyond the Arctic Circle.

It is called *Russia* from the *Rossi*, or *Russi*, an antient People so named from the Word *Rossia*, which signifies *Dispersion*, because they lived without any Form of Government. *Muscovy* is supposed to be derived from *Mesech*, the Son of *Japhet*; but with little Foundation. The *Muscovites* place the Creation, which used to be their common *Era*, above 1500 Years before all other Christians, without assigning any Reason for so doing. They began their Year with the First of *September*, which they kept with great Solemnity, till forced by Authority to do otherwise; because it was more likely, they thought, that God created the Earth with its Fruits in full Perfection, than covered over with Snow, as it is with them in our Spring Months. The longest Day in the South of *Muscovy* is fifteen Hours and a half; and in the North, they have continual Sun for two Months.

The Air in the Winter is so excessively cold towards the North, that many feel its Effects by the Loss of their Hands, Feet, and Noses: Which Misfortune is the more inevitable, if they come too hastily near a Fire; but Snow put upon the Part will prevent it. Water sprinkled upwards will freeze before it comes to the Ground; Birds will fall down and die, and Men, travelling in Sledges, come frozen to Death into the Towns. The Snow and Ice are on the Earth generally 9 Months in the Year. The Ice in the Rivers is above 5 Feet thick, and continues till some Time after the Snow is gone. From *August* till *May*, during this cold Weather, every Body is wrapt in Furs. The Land is very barren, except towards *Poland*, where they have several Sorts of Grain in great Plenty; and from the extreme Heat immediately following the Cold, they have their Harvest in *July*, tho' the Land is not ploughed till *May*. The Soil needs no Dung, the Snow supplying the Place of Manure. They have some very good Fruits. Authors mention an extraordinary Plant, found near *Samara*, *Astracan*, and *Casan*, which grows in the Shape of a Lamb. They affirm, that the Grass withers near it, as if eaten by it; that when it is ripe the Stump grows dry, and the Fruit

is covered with a hairy Skin, resembling Wool, which being prepared, makes a good Fur Lining. The Wolves devour it, because it is like a Lamb, and it is used as a Bait to take them. The *Muscovites* name it *Bommaretz*, that is *Little Lamb*.

M. *Cornelius le Bruyn* speaks of a kind of Gooseberry, with which the Woods about *Moscow* are full, called *Costenitsa*, of a very pleasant acid Taste, and which is eaten with Honey or Sugar, like Strawberries. There is a Sort of them, called *Brusnitsa*, larger than the other, great Quantities of which are carried to *Moscow*, where the *Russians* put them into Casks of Water all the Summer, and then draw from them a very refreshing and pleasant Liquor, especially when sweetened with Honey and Sugar. The same Author speaks of an extraordinary Sort of Turnips, of various Colours and surprizing Beauty; some purple, some grey and white, and some yellowish, streaked with Vermillion. These he found among the *Samojeds*.

Russia abounds with Forests, Lakes, Pools, and Deserts; affording Plenty of Wild-Fowl, Fish, and Furs for Clothing. There is a most prodigious Plenty of Wild Game, and in particular one Sort of Hares, which every Winter turn as white as the Snow on the Ground, and in the Spring become of the same Colour with our Hares in *England*. Near *Petzkora*, a Province in the North of *Muscovy*, they take a Fish, called *Morsia*, with the Teeth of which they make Handles of Knives and Scymetars. The Lakes in this Country are chiefly occasioned by the melted Snows: Those of *Ladoga* and *Onega*, near *Finland*, are two of the largest in *Europe*. The numerous Swarms of Gnats and Flies here produced, during the intense Heat, make the Summer-Season almost as troublesome as the Winter. The chief Towns in this vast Empire are, *Moscow*, *Petersburgh*, *Volodimer*, *Novogorod*, *Smolensko*, *Casan*, *Bulgar*, *Astracan*, *Wologda*, *Pleskov*, *Resan*, *Jereflaw*, *Pereflaw*, *Arch-Angel*, and *St. Nicholas*.

Moscow communicates its Name to the whole Country, and is situated on a River of the same Name, in 55 Degrees 30 Minutes of North Latitude, on a gravelly Soil, and in a wholesome Air, almost in the Center of the best Part of *Russia*. It is divided into four Parts; *Ca-*

taigorod, where the Czar's Palaces stand; *Czargorod*; *Skerodum*; and *Strelitza Slaboda*. In the last were formerly the Quarters of the *Strelitzes*, who were established Forces, like the *Fanizaries* among the *Turks*. There were wont to be about 20,000 of them quartered in *Moscow*, for the Czar's Guard. These four Parts are separated and encompassed by three Walls, besides that of the Imperial Palaces; the first of red Bricks; the second of white; and the third of Earth, supported on each Side by Planks of Fir. This Wall, tho' 15 or 16 Miles in Circumference, is said to have been raised in four Days, on a Report of the Approach of the *Cham* of *Crim Tartary*. *Moscow* was founded in the Year 1334, and once consisted of 40,000 Houses; but was taken, and almost burnt down by the *Tartars*, in 1572. The *Polanders* took it also in 1611. It was again burnt in 1668, and suffered greatly by Fire in 1699, 1701, 1707, and 1737. But it lost the most Inhabitants at the Building of *Peterburgh*, by the great Numbers whom the Czar *Peter* obliged to reside there. From the vast Number of Churches, with Cupola's, Steeples, and Crosses, gilt and variously painted at the Top, and the Gentlemen's Houses, all with Gardens and Court-yards, *Moscow* has the Appearance, at a Distance, of one of the finest Cities in the World; but does by no Means answer the Traveller's Expectation when he comes within it, the Houses being built of Wood, for the most Part very meanly. The *Bojars*, or *Moscovite* Noblemen, and a few Persons of Condition, have some handsome Houses of Stone; but the Streets are laid with Fir Timber, and the Walls and Fences are likewise of Wood. These wooden Houses are moveable, and sold ready made; and indeed, from the many Fires that happen among them, often owing to their Drunkenness, and their Negligence in putting out the lighted Tapers about the Pictures of their Saints, not only here, but in every other Town in *Russia*, they have too frequent Occasions to go to Market. In the Year 1688, there were 3000 Houses burnt; but they were, in the Opinion of a *French* Author then on the Spot, little better than the Hogsties in *France*. Captain *Perry* says, "It is common in *Moscow*, when a Fire begins, especially in the Summer Season, to have it spread on all Sides, and burn

burn on so furious, that there is no standing before it. The *Russes*, in hopes to put a Stop to it, pull down the wooden Houses and Fences, tho' they often have not Time to carry them off, but as they lie on the Ground, give a Train to the Fire; so that he has known it, in less than half a Day's Time, when there has been a Gale of Wind, burn above a *Russ* Mile in Length, and destroy many thousand Houses, without giving the Inhabitants Opportunity to carry off the tenth Part of their Goods. This has often brought many People to the last Degree of Poverty, and is one great Cause that the Houses appear so poor in *Moscow*, when they cannot raise Money to build them better."

There are at least 1500 Churches and Monasteries in and about *Moscow*, above 40 of which are within the Wall of the Imperial Palaces. There are two of these, one of Stone for Summer, and one of Wood for Winter; besides the Palace which was formerly the Residence of the Patriarch; several Houses of the chief Lords of the Court; the *Precauses*, or Courts of Justice, and the publick Offices of the State. In the Midst of a great Court, surrounded with Buildings, is a lofty Tower called *Iwan Welike*, or *Great John*, in which is that monstrous Bell, reported to be the biggest in the World, weighing 336,000 lb. It is 19 Feet high, 23 in Diameter, 64 in Circumference, and two in Thickness. It lies where it fell in the Fire, in the Year 1701. It could not be raised by less than 100 Men, and that used to be only upon extraordinary Occasions, as when the Czars thought fit to shew themselves to their People, whose Ignorance made them imagine, that the Presence of their Sovereign caused that Agitation they felt in their Bodies, which was the mere Effect of the Motion the Air was put into by this Bell. It used also to be struck upon formerly when the Czar went to bed to the *Great Dutcheffs*, to warn the People to pray for the Conception of a Prince; for they made but little Account of a Daughter.

The great Church of *Saboor* is 96 Feet in Length: The Dome is supported by four large Pillars; and here they shew a Picture pretended to be painted by St. *Luke*, and *Christ's* Garment upon which the Soldiers cast Lots, concerning which they relate several idle Miracles. One

Church here was looked upon as so magnificent by *John Basilowitz* the Tyrant, that he ordered the Eyes of the Architect, who built it, to be put out, that he might never contrive such another. *Moscow* abounds no less in Brandy-shops than in Churches, there being at least 4000 *Cabacs*, or Houses where strong Liquors are sold.

The History of this extensive Country, which was a great Part of the antient *Sarmatia*, is so clouded with fabulous Relations, thro' the profound Ignorance of its People, in Times past, (who were forbid, on Pain of Death, to go out of their own Country, or even converse with Foreigners, without Leave of the Prince or Patriarch,) that it is almost impossible to arrive at any Certainty with regard to the antient State of it. We only know that they were formerly under the Government of several distinct Princes, and many petty Dukes, till reduced to the Obedience of one Monarch.

I shall go no farther back for an Account of the present Imperial Family of *Muscovy*, named *Romanoff*, than to the Grandfather of the Czar *Peter I.* His Name was *Michael Feodorowitcz Romanoff*, the Son of *Feodore Nikititz Romanoff*, Patriarch of *Muscovy*, who married a near Relation of *John Basilowitz* the Tyrant, and had by her this Son. He was proclaimed Czar in the Year 1613, reigned 32 Years, and dying *Anno* 1645, was succeeded by his Son *Alexis Michaelowitcz*, Father to the Prince whose Life we now give the Publick.

Peter the Great was born the 11th of June 1672, of *Natalia Carilowna Naraskin*, a second Wife. His Father, a little before his Death, when *Peter* was scarce five Years of Age, declared General *Menesius*, a Scotch Man, his Governor; a Person well qualified for that Employment, being thoroughly acquainted with the Affairs of *Europe*, and speaking perfectly well all the *European Languages*. But the Commotions raised, a few Years after, by the Princess *Sophia*, obliged him to retire, and *Peter* thereby lost the Benefit of so able a Preceptor. Yet we shall see, that from the Strength of his natural Genius, unassisted by any of those Accomplishments which other Princes acquire by Education, he was able to surpass them all; to conquer foreign Countries; to

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new form his own; and, unpolished as he was at first himself, to polish others, who were but one Degree removed from Savages.

The Inclination of this young Prince to Military Exercises began to shew itself very early: He was pleased, in his Infancy, with beating the Drum: He would not amuse himself, as a Child, with a vain Noise, but to learn one of the Functions of a Soldier, which he did effectually, in so much as sometimes to give Lessons to others.

Alexis Michaelowitcz left 8 Children at his Death, *Anno* 1676. Two Sons, *Theodore* and *John*, and 4 Daughters, *Sophia*, *Catharine*, *Mary*, and *Sediasa*, were by his first Wife; and one Son and one Daughter, *Peter* and *Natalia Alexowna*, by a second Venter. *Theodore*, his eldest Son, succeeded him; but he being of a weak Constitution, every one believed his Reign would be of short Continuance. The Princess *Sophia*, a Lady of great Spirit and Penetration, foreseeing this, contrived Means to get out of the Convent in which she was placed; notwithstanding the settled Custom, at that Time, obliged the Female Issue of the Czarian House to pass their Lives unmarried, in such Confinement. She pretended a more than ordinary Affection for her Brother, and complained vehemently of her Unhappiness, in being restrained from visiting a Person whom she loved so tenderly: When he was in the Fits of his Distemper, she sent every Moment to enquire how he did; and let no Occasion slip of testifying the great Grief she felt, in being obliged to be absent from him. By these Methods, having prepared the Way for what she designed, she left her Convent, under Pretence of administering to her Brother in his Sickness, which she did with great Assiduity, suffering no one to come near him, or give him any Medicines but herself.

Thus she insinuated herself into the good Opinion of the Grandees; and won the Hearts of the People by her affable Behaviour. Being resolved never more to return to Confinement, she concluded the best Way would be to make herself absolute Mistress; which Design not being to be carried on without a considerable Number of Adherents, she pitched upon Prince *Basil Basilerwick*

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Galliczin, as the fittest Person to be the Chief of her Party.

This Prince was a Man of great Quality, descended from the last Duke of *Lithuania* of the House of *Jagelon*. The Courtiers, at first, seemed satisfied with her Choice, imagining that he would only have the Name of Chief Minister, but share the Power with them: But *Galliczin*, who had more cunning than half the *Muscovite* Nobility put together, found Ways to manage all Affairs as he pleased, during the Reign of *Theodore*, who dying suddenly in the 22d Year of his Age, Anno 1682, named *Peter*, his youngest Brother, by a different Mother, his Successor to the Throne; thinking his Brother *John*, who was greatly afflicted with the Falling-Sickness, unfit for Government. *Peter*, then not above ten Years of Age, was accordingly proclaimed Czar. The Princess *Sophia*, who had before a large Share in the Regency, could not be well pleased to see *John* thus excluded the Throne, which she looked upon as his Right; and, having engaged *Courvanski**, the General of the *Strelitzes*, and many of the *Boyars* and Clergy to her Side, resolved to set the Crown upon his Head.

The more easily to accomplish her Design, a Report was industriously spread, that the Czar *Theodore* had been poisoned by his Physicians, at the Instigation of some at the Helm, whose Names were whisper'd about; and, the more strongly to exasperate the *Strelitzes*, she raised a Rumour, that a Design had been formed, to have mixed Poison with the Brandy and Beer that was to have been given them at *Theodore's* Funeral, if she had not prevented it. *Courvanski*, and many of the principal Officers, being before thoroughly engaged in the Design, and the common Men thus incensed, they soon took an Opportunity to give Vent to their Fury: They began with the Murder of the two Physicians, who administered Physick to the deceased Czar: They cut in Pieces several of the chief Officers of the Crown, who were marked out to them for Destruction; and threw others

* An Officer somewhat like the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, among the *Turks*, or the *Prefect* of the *Prætorian* Band under the *Roman* Emperors.

over

over a Ballustrade, on the Top of the Palace, upon the Soldiers Pikes, which they held upright on Purpose to receive them: And, in this savage Manner, they continued their Outrages for several Days, till the People, to put a Stop to their Barbarity, proclaimed *John*, in Conjunction with his Brother *Peter*.

The Princess *Sophia* having gained her Ends, and, both the Czars being very young, got the Administration into her own Hands, it was hoped that all Troubles would cease: But *Courvanski* continued to let loose his *Strelitzes* against all that were not of his Party in *Moscow*, from whence the Imperial Family were retired into the *Troit-sky*, or *Trinity Monastery*, * about 60 *Russ* Miles from the City, and whither Prince *Borice Galliczin* had before carried the Czar *Peter*, to secure him till the Tumult was over. Princess *Sophia*, in hopes of soothing this Madman *Courvanski*, sent her Compliments to him, with Thanks for the Zeal he had shewn in revenging the Death of her Brother: But this had a quite different Effect from what she expected; for *Courvanski*, after all his Ravaging, Plundering, and even Massacring the most considerable *Boyars* with Impunity, upon receiving this Submission, as he called it, from the Princess, imagined there was nothing that he might not attempt, even seizing on the Crown itself. He concluded, and perhaps rightly, that the *Strelitzes* were at his Devotion to a Man; some out of Gratitude for his having indulged them in plundering the City, and others in hopes of making their Fortunes by a Revolution. He endeavoured to raise in them a Contempt for both the Czars; for *John* on Account of his Infirmities, and for *Peter* on Account of his Youth. He added, that *Peter*, as he grew up, might be subject to his Brother's Distempers; and therefore there was no Prospect of seeing a Prince on the Throne, who would have any personal Merit or Courage. He determined, in short, to push his Fortunes; and thinking he should the better accomplish his Designs, if he could make an Alliance with the *Czarian* Family,

* In this spacious Building the Czars have fine Apartments. The Abbot is so rich, that he has 60,000 Peasants dependant upon him.

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he proposed a Marriage between his Son and the Princess *Catharine*, younger Sister to *Sophia*. But this was looked upon as the Height of Insolence and Presumption. *Sophia* knew that such an Alliance would not only endanger the Safety of the young Czars, but that her own Authority had more to fear from the Ambition of *Cowvanski*, than from any of those great Men she had already caused to be murdered: She therefore thought it high Time that he too should be dispatched, and punished for those Crimes to which she herself had consented. To get him within her Power, she came to a Resolution of celebrating, in the *Troitsky* Monastery, the Feast of St. *Catharine*, whose Name the Princess bore, by whom *Cowvanski* flattered himself with vain Hopes of fixing the Crown of *Russia* in his own Family.

Notice was given every where of the intended Feast, and all the *Bojars* invited to Court, particularly *Cowvanski*, who yet continued his Cruelties at *Moscow*, which the Princess artfully seemed to approve of. In the mean Time, 200 Horsemen were order'd to way-lay him in the Road to the *Troitsky* Monastery, who seized on him, and carried him into a House that was at Hand, where his Sentence was read without any Examination or Delay, and both his own and his Son's Heads taken off at the same Instant.

The *Strelitzes*, at first, were struck speechless with Astonishment; but recovering out of their Surprize, they grew furious, running up and down, and exclaiming against the Government, who had deprived them of their Chief and Father: They protested unanimously, that they would take Vengeance on his Murderers, and all their Adherents, of what Degree or Quality soever. They possessed themselves of the Arsenals and Ammunition, and seem'd to threaten a general Destruction. The Court, perceiving the Danger, raised the other Forces, who bore an implacable Hatred to the *Strelitzes*, and commanded all the *German* Officers to repair to the *Troitsky* Monastery. Every one readily obey'd his Orders, leaving their Wives and Children; notwithstanding they had Reason to fear their Families would be ill used by the *Strelitzes*, for their giving this Proof of their Loyalty. The *Germans* dwelt in the Suburbs of *Moscow*, whi-

whither the *Strelitzes* immediately ran, in their Fury, to butcher all they met with; but were restrained by some of the oldest among them, who represented, that if they should put the *German* Wives to the Sword, their Husbands would think of nothing but Revenge. The *German* Officers, tho' for the most Part raised from private Centinels, were by much the better Soldiers; for the *Strelitzes* were but an undisciplined Mob, and little able to stand against any regular Force; and their Hearts now sinking, they began to make Offers of Peace, which they found the Court ready to grant. In order to obtain it, they first kill'd their Colonels and other Officers, and then sent Messengers to Court to implore Pardon. The Czars came immediately to *Moscow*, accompanied by the Nobility and *German* Officers: And the *Strelitzes* meeting them, prostrated themselves upon the Ground, and begg'd for Mercy. The Czars making a Sign that they forgave them, the penitent Soldiers conducted them to their Palace, pouring forth Tears of Joy, to see their Sovereigns in so mild a Disposition.

The same Day Prince *Basil Galliczin* was created Grand Chancellor, and *Wrenimienk*, or Temporary Minister of State; in which Post never any Man before him governed with so great Authority. He was one of the ablest, and most polite Men in *Muscovy*; understood the *Latin* Tongue well, conversed much with Foreigners, and was the only Man of Quality who would entertain, without forcing his Company to drink to Excess. Brandy, which flowed at every other Table, was seldom seen at his, who never drank any himself.

He had little Value for insignificant Men of great Birth, and preferr'd none but those he thought worthy of the Posts they were to fill; thus bestowing most of the principal Offices of State without consulting the Interests of particular Families. The Hatred this drew on him, did not hinder him from exerting his Authority, and ordering every Thing for the Advantage of his Country, which began to make a Figure among other Nations. He advis'd a general Peace with *Sweden*, whose Ambassadors being at *Moscow*, had all their Demands granted.

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The *Imperialists* and *Poles* being engaged in a War with the *Turks*, and the first having endeavoured, without Effect, to get the *Muscovites* to make a League with them, the *Poles* took Occasion to propose a general Peace, and, to bring over the *Muscovites* to their Side, sent an Embassy to *Moscow*, where, after divers Conferences, they came to an Accommodation. The *Poles* gave up their Pretensions to the *Ukrain*, the Dutchy of *Smolensko*, and other Territories conquered by the *Muscovites*; and the *Czars* obliged themselves to make War upon the *Precops*, and oppose their Incurfions into *Poland*.

The *Muscovites*, upon this, sent Ambassadors to all the Courts of *Christendom*, to animate them against the *Turks*. They themselves prepared to take the Field, and enter the *Crim*. Prince *Galliczin* named several Lords, as fit for the Command in this Expedition; but was told, on all Hands, that no one could be so capable as himself. This Honour he would very willingly have declined, judiciously supposing he should find great Difficulties in the Enterprize, the ill Success of which would be laid at his Door: Knowing besides, that the Army he was to command, tho' formidable in Numbers, was only a Multitude of undisciplin'd Peasants, with whom he could never undertake any daring Action to come off with Honour. He foresaw too, that his Absence might be more prejudicial, than the Conquest of the *Crim* could be of Advantage or Glory to him; and that those who insisted most on his taking this Charge, did it only out of Jealousy, and on purpose to ruin him.

The *Crim* is a very fruitful Peninsula, encompassed partly by the Waters of the *Euxine Sea*, and partly by those of the *Palus Mæotis*. The *Tartars* of this Country have for many Ages been in strict Alliance with the Grand Signior, and tho' the *Cham* has the Title of Emperor, yet he is little better than a Slave to the *Ottoman Porte*. But as much as they are Vassals themselves, they had formerly obliged the *Muscovites* to pay an annual Tribute to them, and inserted in the Articles of Peace these disgraceful Terms: "That the *Czar* should hold "the Stirrup of their *Cham*, and feed his Horse with "Oats out of his Cap, if they should chance at any "Time to meet." The

The *Muscovites* determining to send a numerous Army into this Country, and having provided Generals for all the Forces; in order to raise Provisions and Ammunition for them, every House was taxed at a *Rouble* * each, which amounted to an immense Sum. Prince *Galliczin* having obtained the Favour of making his Son Collegue with him in the Chancellorship, sat out to join the Army.

The general Rendezvous was in the *Ukrain*, in the Country of those *Cossacks* who are independant of the *Hettman*, and commanded by *Polkowniks* or Colonels, The *Hettman* drew together his Troops at *Cartlich*, and on the first of May 1687, they took the Field with an Army of 300,000 Foot, and 100,000 Horse, Not being able however to pass farther than *Kerchekesa*, on Account of a prodigious Drought, which had burned up the Grass for 50 Leagues round, they returned to the River *Marle*, where they waited for Orders from *Moscow* to disband their Army. Prince *Galliczin*, to excuse himself, threw the Blame of this Misfortune upon the *Hettman*, *Juan Samuelerrick*, and accordingly wrote to Court for Orders to depose him: Which being come, *Galliczin* caused the *Hettman* to be seized at Midnight, by those very *Strelitzes* which he had desired for his Guard. He was carried bound in Cords to a Place called *Chatra*, or the Tent of Justice, which in all the *Russian Armies* is pitch'd in the General's Quarters. The Prince summoned all the Officers and Noblemen to attend him; who took their Seats, and the unfortunate *Hettman* was brought before them. The Emperor's Orders being read, they confronted him with the principal *Cossacks*, who accused him of holding Intelligence with the *Cham*. In a Word, he, who had been the Day before among the Rank of Princes, instead of most Puissant, was now saluted by the Name of *Scourwecin*, or Son of a Whore: His own Servants lost all Respect to him, and one of his Colonels, named *Dimitrouki*, drew out his Sabre to kill him; but *Galliczin* prevented the Blow, and reproved the Officer. The Council being broke up, and the

* A *Rouble* is 100 *Russ Copecks*, worth about a Halfpenny English each.

Hettman put under a Guard, a Courier was dispatched to *Levanti Romanorrick*, General of the Forces of *Serene*, with Orders to secure the Hettman's Son; but some faithful *Cossacks* got to him Time enough, to give him Notice to save himself. The *Compachicks*, however, or *Cossack* Cavalry, agreed to deliver him up; and tho' the *Sardoucbicks*, or Infantry, would not at first permit him to be taken, they suffered themselves to be prevailed upon at length; and *Romanorrick* being pleased with this Opportunity of repairing his Credit, which he had very much hurt in a late Skirmish with *Sultan Naradin*, returned with his Prisoner to the Army,

While they were thus making sure of the Son; the the *Boyar Generals* consulted how to punish the Father, and set up another Hettman. *Samuelerrick* was sent into *Siberia*; and the *Cossacks* chose one *Mazeppa*, *Pistacy* or Secretary of State, and proclaimed him Hettman. "He was a *Polish* Gentleman, born in the Palatinate of *Podolia*, and had been brought up as one of the Pages of King *John Casimir*, in whose Court he had got some Taste of the *Belles Lettres*; but having, in his Youth, an Intrigue with the Wife of a *Polish* Gentleman, and being discovered, the Husband caused him to be severely scourged, and afterwards tied naked on an ungovernable Horse, which was turned loose to go wheresoever it would. The Horse being brought out of the *Ukrain*, returned thither, and carried *Mazeppa* with him, half dead with Fatigue and Hunger. Some Countrymen gave him Succour, with whom he continued a long Time, and signalized himself on many Occasions against the *Tartars*. The Superiority of his Understanding made him much regarded among the *Cossacks*; and his Reputation encreasing daily, obliged the Czar to make him Prince of *Ukrania*."

A great Party of *Cossacks*, who were not invited to the Election, expressed their Dislike of it: Some Towns revolted, and some of the Colonel's Houses were pillaged in their Absence. The new Hettman, to quell these Disorders, desired some Troops of Prince *Galliczin*, who ordered 3000 Foot and 1000 Horse to attend him to *Baturin*, the usual Residence of the Hettmans.

* Voltaire's Life of Charles XII.

The Order to disband the Army soon arriving, a Letter brought with it was read in the Presence of all the Officers, who, after having done nothing, were pleased to hear themselves thanked for their good Services. Every General had a Gold Medal given him, with the two Czars' Effigies on one Side, and the Princesses on the other, fastened to a Chain of Gold, the whole worth about ten Ducats. Every Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, and even every Soldier and *Strelitz*, had Gifts in Proportion. Prince *Galliczin*, by Means of these Presents, which he obtained from the Princesses, appeased the Murmurs that were raised against him. He likewise gained the chief Nobility, by bestowing Employments upon them; insomuch that at his Arrival at *Moscow*, he found very few against him; and was received by the Princesses with all the Marks of Favour he could wish, and took into as much Authority as ever.

The Friends and Relations of the Czar *Peter*, being apprehensive of the Designs of the Princesses and her Favourite, were concerting Measures how to counterplot them: They engaged on their Side Prince *Borice Galliczin*, who carried *Peter* to the *Troitzky* Monastery, in the Time of *Cowdonski's* Rebellion. He was Cousin to the other, but despised by him for his Debauchery. When they had made this Man the young Czar's Favourite, the next Business was, under Pretence of doing honour to the great *Galliczin*, to allure him with the Command of a second Expedition: But he perceiving that *Peter's* Party gathered Strength, and thinking it might still increase by his Absence, endeavoured to transfer this Command on some other: Which finding impracticable, he frankly offered himself, judging that this would be more to his Honour than to stay till it should be forced upon him. Having obtained whatever he pleased to demand against the Opening of the Campaign, it was resolved the Army should take the Field sooner than they had done before, and all the Forces were ordered to be at their Place of Rendezvous on the first of February 1689.

The Preparations for this Campaign were much greater than for the last; but the Taxes were no higher. The Troops were, for the most Part, commanded by the same Generals. They did not lie long in their first Quarters, but

but were all ordered to march, before the Frost was broke, beyond the River *Marle*, to avoid the Inundations which the Thaw would occasion. Prince *Galliczin* being arrived, pitched his Tent on the farthest Side of the River: The Generals did the same; and on the 6th of *April* they marched towards the *Samare*, where all the Forces joined.

The *Heitman Mazetpa* being come to the same Place, they all passed the *Samare* without Delay, and, in a Month's Time, advanced as far as *Precop*. Every Soldier carrying with him four Months Provisions, their Baggage hindered them from making long Marches, which were likewise much retarded by their heavy Artillery. At *Kairka*, upon the *Borishenes*, a Party having taken some *Tartars*, they learned that the Cham was at *Bondgiac*, and had no Suspicion of so formidable an Army coming upon him. On *May* the 13th they had Word brought that the Enemy was at Hand, upon which they put themselves in order to receive them. The *Tartars* charged the Vanguard of *Schein*. From thence, after some Skirmishes, they wheeled on a sudden from Right to Left, and fell upon the Forces of *Belgorod*, who being over-powered, were quickly put to the Rout: The Horse fled, and the Enemy ran to the Baggage, which they had like to have carried off; but Prince *Galliczin* sending fresh Succours, the *Tartars* were forced to retire, and leave the *Russians* a free Passage to *Thorna d'Oliwa*, five Leagues distant from *Precop*. On the 16th the Army decamped, and moved to *Zelona Dolina*, a League from *Thorna*: Hither came the Cham with all his Forces, which amounted to 30 or 40,000 Horse, marching in several little Divisions, who having insensibly surrounded the *Russians*, they were obliged to halt.

The two Armies gazed upon one another without attempting any Thing; tho' certainly the *Muscovites* ought to have began the Fight. But they were glad to keep out of Harm, fenced in with strong Pallisadoes. The Foot and Artillery defended this Camp so strenuously, that the *Tartars* could not break into it: But the Horse not being entrenched, three or four Detachments of *Tartars*, of 1000 Horse each, ventured to charge them. They were no sooner attacked, but they fell into Disorder:

der: However, the Cannon and small Shot from the Artillery galled the *Tartars*, and laid 3 or 400 of them upon the Ground, and with them several *Muscovites*. On the other Side Sultan *Naradin*, with his Troop, charged the *Cossacks* of *Sont* and *Akrerko*, who were commanded by *Emilian*, the *Russian* Secretary of State. This Gentleman knew very little of the Art of War, and was so frightened, that he could not stand before the *Tartars*, who breaking in among the Baggage, and killing the Horses, pierced in as far as the Center of the Waggon, and carried off twenty Pieces of Cannon. In short, if the *Boyar Kouka* had not advanced with his Troops, the *Cossacks* had been entirely cut off. *Cberemittau*, General of the Forces of *Belgorod*, was attacked at the same Time by another Body of *Tartars*, who broke in as far as his Baggage; but he defended himself much better than *Emilian*, and forced the *Tartars* to retire. In these Skirmishes the *Tartars* being repulsed, tho' the Advantage and some Plunder fell to them, the *Muscovites* moved forwards to get to some fresh Water: The Cavalry mixed with the Waggon and Carriages, and all the Army joined into one Body, and made a square Figure. The Baggage was surrounded with the Cannon and Infantry, who carried their Pallisadoes upon their Shoulders. The *Tartars* appeared again, but finding the Horse had secured themselves, they forbore Action, and soon withdrew to defend *Precop*.

The next Day finding no *Tartars* to oppose them, several of the *Muscovites* ascended the Hill to discover *Precop*, which appeared to be all in Flames, the *Tartars* having set Fire to the Suburbs.

The *Muscovites* marched straight on to *Precop*, and sat down within Cannon-shot of the Town. They thought of attacking it in the Night; but were strangely surprized to receive Orders, in the Evening, to return: Which was occasioned by a sudden Treaty set on Foot by the following Accident.

The Army being encamped pretty near the Town, the *Nogays* and *Calmuck Tartars* skirmishing often with the *Precopians*, a *Nogay*, who served the Cham, saw by Chance a *Muscovite* of his Acquaintance, and calling out to him, There would be no Occasion, said he, to fight,

if your *Boyar* would make Peace with our *Cham*? The *Muscovite* replied, That if *Galliczin* believed the *Cham* was that Way inclined, he might perhaps come into Measures with him. Well, said the *Precopian Nogay*, do you break the Matter to your General, and you may venture to assure him, that the *Cham* is willing to come to Terms. The *Muscovite* went immediately to Prince *Galliczin's* Tent, and acquainted him with all that had happened. The Prince liking the Motion, caused a Letter to be wrote, in the Name of this *Muscovite*, to the *Precopian Nogay*, to this Purpose; *I have related to the General, Prince Galliczin, what passed between us: He is content to come to an Accommodation: It lies upon you to get some Person to be sent to him with the Cham's Proposals.* This Letter was carried to the *Cham*, who being assured that it was wrote by the Prince's Order, sent a principal Person, *Suilech Murza*, and the *Muscovites* a *Boyar*, named *Esmeyan*, in Exchange for Hostages. In this Treaty, the *Muscovites* proposed the following Conditions: That all the *Russian* Slaves should be restored. That the *Tartars* should make no more Inroads into the Czars' Dominions. That they should quit their Claim to 80,000 Roubles, annually due to them from *Muscovy*. That they should not molest the *Poles*, nor assist the *Turks*. The *Murza* gave some Hopes of an Agreement, and spun out the Conference to keep them in Suspence; but the next Day he answered, that the *Cham* would accept of no other Terms than those he was already engaged in with the Czars; that he insisted upon the Payment of the yearly Tribute, and expected 240,000 Roubles, that were in Arrear for the three last Years.

Prince *Galliczin* had lost the Opportunity of forcing them to his own Terms, and his Army, no longer able to lie on the sandy Plain without Forage or Water, was forced to retreat. He took the *Murza* as far as *Ralansebek*, and from thence sent him back, and received his own Hostage. Thus ended Prince *Galliczin's* second Campaign in the *Crim*. Some of his Enemies gave out, that he was corrupted by a large Present of Ducats, which the *Tartars* sent to him in Barrels, but defrauded him of Part of their Contract, by putting Counters among them.

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In about a Month they got to the River *Marle*; and Prince *Galliczin*, during the March, dispatched Couriers to the Czars, and to the King of *Poland*, boasting that he had beaten the *Tartars*. The Princess *Sophia*, upon this, ordered publick Rejoicings throughout the Kingdom, and sent a Letter of Thanks to the Army, with Rewards. These unfortunate Expeditions, far from gaining any Honour or Profit, produced the Ruin of the *Muscovite* General, which happened soon after.

The Czar *Peter*, then in the 18th Year of his Age, was married during the Prince's Absence, to a young Lady named *Ottokesa Federowna*, Daughter of the *Boyar Feoder Abrahamowitz*. This bold Stroke, entirely against the Inclinations of the Princess *Sophia*, greatly increased the Party of *Peter*; and *Galliczin*, at his Return, found all his Measures broken, by the Pregnancy of the young Czarina. His Enemies had likewise learned the Truth of all that had passed, and rendered him so odious to *Peter*, that he could hardly be admitted to kiss his Hand. This Affair had just Time to subside, when the Princess began to raise fresh Uneasinesses, by proposing to distribute considerable Presents among the *Boyars*, in Recompence of their good Services: But the Czars, *Peter* especially, would enquire first into the Merits of these pretended Services. The Princess could bear no Restraint, but found Means to get the Czars to comply with her Desires. Upon which she gave such valuable Presents, especially to *Galliczin*, as were very unusual in *Muscovy*; the Custom of the Czars, on these Occasions, having been only to bestow a royal Vest.

Prince *Galliczin* now began again to govern with the same Power as before. Since the *Hettmans* had been under the *Muscovite* Dominion, they had never entered *Moscov*: But the Prince, upon the Pretence of doing him Honour, so ordered it, that *Maxeppa* was brought into the capital City, with 500 of his principal Officers. The Design of introducing this Number of Men was to assist a Plot, that the Princess and *Galliczin* were then contriving against the Life of *Peter*. The Princess foresaw that this Brother, if not timely prevented, would be one Day the Ruin of her Authority; and she had likewise terrible Apprehensions, that not only her Power would be abridged,

ed, but that she should be forced to return to her Convent: She therefore persuaded *Galliczin*, and all his Family and Friends, to consent to the cruel Scheme she had formed for securing herself and him, by the Death of her Brother.

She pitched upon *Theodore Thekelavitau*, President of the *Strelitzes*, to be her principal Instrument in the Enterprize. *Peter* was at one of his Country-Houses, called *Obrogensko*, a short League from *Moscow*. *Theodore* drew together 600 *Strelitzes*, and putting himself at their Head, commanded them to follow him thither: But two of the Company, shocked at his Design, stole off privately, to advertize the Czar of the Danger he was in. He, jumping out of Bed in great Consternation, sent for his maternal Uncles, the *Naraskins*, and consulted with them what was to be done. The Result was, that one of these Uncles, and Prince *Borice Galliczin*, should be sent immediately to the City, to enquire into the Certainty of this Intelligence. In their Way meeting *Thekelavitau*, at the Head of his *Strelitzes*, they hastened back to save the Czar, who had but just Time enough to get into his Coach, with his Mother, his Wife, and her Sister, and escape to the *Troitsky Monastery*.

The Conspirators, on their Arrival, searched every where for the Czar; but the *Strelitzes*, then on Duty at *Obrogensko*, knowing nothing of the Design, told the President that his Majesty was gone out a little before, with all the Speed imaginable. This Disappointment was no small Concern to the Princess: Every Body was astonished, till in the Evening it was known that *Peter* had sent to the Princess, to reproach her with her Treachery. She absolutely denied the Matter, and protested that they were much deceived in taking those for Conspirators who came only to relieve the Guard. But this Excuse of relieving the Guard, which was always done in the Day-time, was looked upon as a very weak one. The Czar *Peter* being safe in the *Troitsky Monastery*, wrote to all the *Boyars* to repair thither, and to all the Gentry, in every Town, to raise the Militia. He published *Thekelavitau's* Attempt, and, in a Week's Time, had a numerous Body of Noblemen and Gentlemen about him. *Galliczin* excused himself, on

Pretence

Pretence of being with-held by the Czar *John*: Notwithstanding it was said they had also a Design upon him, if their Plot had not miscarried on *Peter*.

The Princess, to get the *Strelitzes* on her Side, ordered some of them to be planted at the Foot of the Stairs: The Czar *John* and she, coming from Mass, stood at the Top, from whence the Czar spoke to them to this Effect: *My Brother is retired to the Troitsky Monastery, for what Reason I know not: Doubtless he intends to disturb the Peace of the State, and, as I am told, has commanded you to attend him; but we forbid you, upon Pain of Death, to obey his Orders.* The Princess repeated the same Thing; but the *Strelitzes*, little heeding what either of them said, marched directly to the Monastery, where they assured *Peter* of their Fidelity. The Princess, seeing this, resolved, if possible, to make her own Peace with him: In order to which she sent two of his Aunts, who, by her Example, had now left their Convents.

These Ladies being come into the Presence of the Czar, beseeched him not to give Credit to those Rumours, which had so much alarmed him. They assur'd him, that there was some Misunderstanding in the Affair, and that he might return to *Moscow* with great Safety. The Czar answered them, that there was an apparent Conspiracy to murder himself, his Wife, his Mother, and Uncle; and laid so many Circumstances before them, that they could not deny the Truth of it. The Princesses, with Tears in their Eyes, appeared shocked at the horrid Design, and said they would never return to *Moscow*, but live and die with him.

Sophia, hearing of the bad Success of this Negotiation, applied herself to the Patriarch, and so wrought upon the good Man, that he offered himself for a Mediator: He went to the Czar *Peter*, and used the strongest Arguments to persuade him to a Reconciliation; but was strangely surprized when he understood that he himself was to have been taken off, and that the Abbot *Sylvestre*, who was in the Plot, was to have been made Patriarch in his Stead. Upon this new Discovery, he judged it might not be amiss for him to remain in the *Troitsky Monastery*, and publish a Proclamation to apprehend the Traitors.

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This Princess calling her Creatures together, it was resolved that *Thekelavitan* should be secured in the Palace, and that the Abbot *Sylvester* should be saved; and then she herself, with Prince *Galliczin*, and the rest of her Friends, went towards the *Troitsky* Monastery, with hopes of appeasing her Brother. She was not got above half Way, before a *Boyar* met her, by the Czar *Peter's* Order, who told her she would not be received. She knew it would be dangerous to disobey, and so returned to *Moscow*. The next Day, the *Strelitzes* and *Germans* appeared at the Monastery, and the *Boyars* resolved to seize the Traitors wherever they could be found. A Colonel with 300 Men immediately marched to the Palace at *Moscow*, and there loudly demanded that *Thekelavitan* should be delivered to him. The Princess made some Resistance at first; but seeing the Colonel resolute, she delivered up the Traitor and his Adherents; who, loaded with Chains, were carried to the *Troitsky*. Prince *Galliczin* at the same Time going to the Monastery with his Son, and several of his Friends, they found the Gates shut against them; and Orders were given to convey them back, and not suffer any of them to stir out of their Houses.

As soon as *Thekelavitan*, or *Fiska*, as he was now called in Contempt, was brought to the Monastery, he was convey'd into the great Hall, and there kept four Hours under Examination: From thence he was carried to a Tower in the Monastery, and had the *Knout* given him. This Punishment is executed by the common Hangman, who is likewise called the *Knoutavoit* Master. The Criminal is fasten'd to a strong Man's Back, and there receives 2 or 300 Lashes on his bare Back, with a tough Thong, made of a wild Ass's Hide, and fastened to a Stick about two Feet and a half long, like a Flail. The Executioner seldom hits twice in the same Place, but running a Step or two back, and then springing forward, at every Stroke draws Blood, or raises a Wheal as thick as one's Finger.*

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* This is the moderate *Knout*. When the Sentence orders the *Knout* between the moderate and the severe, one may see small Pieces of Flesh taken off at every Stroke of the Executioner.

When

Thekelavitan, after he had undergone a few of these Strokes, confessed that he was to have killed the Czar, his Mother, and her three Brothers. He wrote to the Czar *Peter*, and acquainted him at large with all the Particulars of the Conspiracy; pleaded that he was overpersuaded to this cruel Enterprize, and named the Persons who put him upon it. The Czar, tho' satisfy'd of the Treason of his Sister, would not publickly expose a Princess of the Blood; but it was with great Difficulty that young *Galliczin* could save the Prince, his Cousin, from being executed.

Several others were afterwards examined, to whom they gave the *Question*, or extraordinary Torture, a Punishment more severe than the other. The Offenders had their Heads shaved, and being then tied fast, boiling Water was pour'd Drop by Drop on their Skulls, which put them to such exquisite Pain, that they immediately acknowledged their Crime, and discover'd their Accomplices. Two Days were spent in consulting how to punish the Criminals. Prince *Galliczin*, with his Son and Friends, being condemned to Banishment, he was brought to the Palace, and had his Sentence read to him aloud; "That he was order'd to go to *Karga*, a Town under the *Pole*, and to remain there as long as he lived: "That his Majesty, of his great Goodness, allowed him three Pence a Day for his Subsistence; but that "his Goods should be forfeited to the Treasury."

The Prince being conducted to the Place of his Exile, a Secretary was dispatched to *Moscow* to seize upon his Palace, and make an Inventory of all the Riches he found in it. Among other Things, a Trunk was discover'd, wherein were no less than 100,000 Ducats, which were thought to be the Spoils of the deposed *Hettman*, *Juan Samuelerrick*. Besides these there were 400 Vessels of Silver, weighing 40 Pounds each, and other Moveables of great Value. The Ladies of the Prince, and his Son, were banished with him, and allowed to take with them but 30 Roubles among them all. The-

When it is ordered to be given with the utmost Severity, it is often mortal; for then the Executioner striking the Flanks under the Ribs, cuts the Flesh to the very Bowels.

kelavitan

kelavitau had his Head cut off the next Day. Two *Strelitzes*, who were to have been Assassins, suffered the same Punishment. The Colonel that commanded the Detachment, was whipp'd, had his Tongue cut out, and was sent to end his Days in *Siberia*, with an Allowance of a Penny a Day. Five other *Strelitzes* had their Tongues cut out, and were sent into *Siberia*.

The Czar *Peter*, when these Executions were over, desired the Princess to retire into a Monastery which she had built at *Dewitz*; but she shewing some Reluctance to this, he commanded the President of the *Strelitzes* to conduct her thither, and suffer no Person to come to to her. Two Days after *Peter* returned to *Moscow*, and made his Entry on Horseback, attended by 18,000 *Strelitzes* armed for his Guard. His Wife and Mother followed in a Coach. *John* stood to receive his Brother, at the Steps entering into the Palace: They embraced; *Peter* asked *John* to be Friends, who answering that he was so, they each retired to their respective Apartments.

Thus ended the Regency of the Princess *Sophia*, who had governed the *Russian* Empire for some Years; but thro' a boundless Ambition lost not only that Authority she had, but her Liberty also, being from that Time kept in close Confinement till the Day of her Death, which did not happen till 1704, fifteen Years after.

CHAP II.

The Rise and Character of General Le Fort, and Prince Menzikoff. A Description of Siberia. The Siege of Asoph. Death of the Czar John. Peter becomes sole Monarch.

P*PETER* now seemed to be settled alone in the Government. His elder Brother *John* indeed continued Czar; but his Name was little mentioned, except in the Beginning of public Acts. *Naraskin*, *Peter's* maternal Uncle, aimed at a Share in the Administration, and found no Obstacle to his ambitious Views, but the Favourite, young *Gallixzin*. The Czar, at that Time, gave no Presages of being that great Prince he afterwards appeared. He took Delight in very idle and cruel Di-

versions,

versions, and was wrought upon by *Naraskin*, to believe that his Favourite must needs have been concerned in some of the Enterprizes of his Cousin. *Peter* seemed very unwilling to suspect a Person, who had no less than three Times saved his Life: But *Naraskin*, with Tears in his Eyes, declared, that if he did not remove this Favourite, he might as well recal the Great *Gallixzin* from Exile: He yielded at last, and promised to confine the Prince to his own Estate; but *Gallixzin*, being advertised of the Matter, withdrew thither, before any such Orders were sent him. The Czar dispatched Courier after Courier, to know the Cause of his Retirement: To whom he only answered, that since his past Conduct could not justify his Fidelity, he desired no more than to be allowed to live there, without ever coming to Court. The Czar was so touched with this, that he sent two *Bojars* to visit him, and a few Days after desired him to return, which he did accordingly. This Turn so much alarmed the *Naraskins*, that they endeavoured by all Means to be reconciled to him. For some Time he made as great a Figure as ever, conferring Favour on all his Friends. He caused many Grandees to be disgrac'd, and gave their Places to his own Creatures; but then they were not such as his Cousin preferred, Men of Worth and Abilities, but Drunkards and Debauchees like himself. The *Naraskins* at length so far prevailed, as to bring the Czar into an Opinion, that if he was trusted with the Place of the late *Gallixzin*, he might attempt to release the Princess *Sophia*. It was therefore bestowed on old *Naraskin*, the Czar's Grandfather. This Place had been kept in Commission ever since the Banishment of *Basil Gallixzin*, and being thus disposed of, determined all Sorts of People to follow the Party of the *Naraskins*. Old *Naraskin's* eldest Son was made Great Chamberlain, and young *Gallixzin* turned out in his Favour; which so much incensed the latter, that he could not forbear expressing his Repentment, and charging the Czar with Weakness. His Enemies having to good a Handle to accuse him, did his Business so effectually, that he was shortly after banished in a most ignominious Manner. The *Naraskins* now took upon them to govern with so

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much

much Arrogance, that most People began to deplore the Loss of the Great *Galliezin*, who had formed many Schemes for the Welfare of the *Russian* Empire, such as building and endowing a College, procuring Books, encouraging Learning and Commerce. All this was neglected by the *Naraskins*, who again forbid Foreigners to come into *Muscovy*, and were for reducing all Things apate to their antient State. But a new Favourite *Peter* made choice of, one *Le Fort*, began to make Arts and Sciences revive in *Muscovy*: To him was owing the first Foundation of the true *Russian* Grandeur, and from him the Czar imbibed such Notions of Virtue and Propriety, as made him afterwards one of the most illustrious Princes that ever reigned.

This * *Le Fort* was a Gentleman of *Geneva*, who, from his Childhood, had a strong Inclination to military Affairs; but, at the Desire of his Father, was bred up in the Compting-House of an eminent Merchant in *Amsterdam*. With this Gentleman he behaved so well, that he obtained leave to go to *Copenhagen* in a Merchant Ship his Master was sending thither. He was entrusted with the whole Cargo, and discharged his Commission with Faithfulness and Advantage, beyond what could be expected from one so young.

At the Sight of the *Danish* Troops, his Love of Arms began to revive. He got acquainted with several Officers in the Army, and was much loved and respected by them. At this Time an Ambassador from *Denmark* being sent to *Moscow*, *Le Fort* got a Recommendation to go in his Retinue. He soon made himself Master of the *Russian* Language, and served the Ambassador as an Interpreter; who, for his excellent Qualities, had a most extraordinary Value for him.

The Ambassador being highly esteemed at *Moscow*, the Czar *Peter* frequently did him the Honour to eat at his Table, and there first took Notice of *Le Fort*. Finding he spoke the Language of the Country, and answered several Questions pertinently; he at last asked him, if he was willing to enter into his Service? *M. Le Fort*, in the most respectful Manner, reply'd, That whatever Am-

* *La Motraye*. Vol. III: Chap. III.

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bition he might have to serve so great a Monarch, yet the Duty and Gratitude he owed to his Master, would not allow him to promise without his Consent. *Well*, said the Czar, *I will ask the Consent of your Master*. The Czar, by one of his own Interpreters, *M. Le Fort* desiring to be excused, took notice that *Le Fort* spoke good *Russian*. The Ambassador answered, That he had a Genius to learn any Thing; that four Months ago he spoke the *German* but ill, and he now speaks it, says he, as well as the *Germans* in my Train: That he did not know one Word of the *Sclawonian*, when he first came into *Courland*, tho' his Majesty now owned, he spoke good *Russian*. Young *Le Fort*, when he heard the Commendations the Ambassador gave him, withdrew to a distant Part of the Room; which modest Behaviour had a good Effect on the Czar. No more was said on this Subject that Day; but the next Time the Ambassador came to Court, the Czar told him, he had a Desire to have *Le Fort* about him; and asked, if he would part with him: The Ambassador reply'd, That he wished *Le Fort* too well, and had too great a Regard to the Commands of his Majesty, not to consent to it.

Le Fort the next Day, was made first Interpreter to the Czar, who took him into high Favour, and was pleased in talking to him about the Courts he had seen. Discoursing one Day of the King of *Denmark's* Guards, He asked him what he thought of his, the *Strelitzes*? and commanded him to speak his Mind freely. *Le Fort* answered, that he thought they were fine well made Men, who wanted only to be well disciplined and properly clothed; that the long Coats they wore were not becoming to Soldiers, and must needs be inconvenient. The Czar expressing a Desire to see some that were more commodious, *Le Fort* went to the *Danish* Ambassador's Taylor, and made him take Measure of him for a Captain's Sute, and another for a common Man. Two Days after he appeared in the first at the Czar's Levee, who did not know him at his coming into his Chamber; but, when he did, was much pleased with the Dress, and greatly commended his Diligence. He appeared next in the other Sute, and the Czar was so well pleased with both, that he ordered the same Clothing for a

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whole Company, who were to be disciplined after *Le Fort's* Manner.

M. *Le Fort* sent to all the Merchants settled at *Moscow*, and went to some himself, for Things necessary to clothe this Company. He took all the Taylors he could find at the Ambassador's Houses, and those who served the Merchants, and desired an Order from the Czar to measure those among the *Streletzes* who were of the best Shape and Stature. He then gathered a Number of Strangers together, who had Knowledge in the Military Exercise, and were willing to enter into the Czar's Service; and had them clothed according to the Posts that were given them. Having completed and clothed a Company of 50 Men, and put himself at their Head, he marched, with Drums beating, before the Palace Gate. The Czar, coming to the Window, was much surpris'd; but highly pleas'd with the Spectacle. He came down from his Chamber as soon as the Exercise began, and said when it was over, he would enter into the Company, and learn the Discipline himself, ordering a Sute of Clothes to be made for him, as a common Centinel. *Peter*, tho' he condescended to wear this mean Habit, was not displeas'd to find that the People, who had before been Strangers to all Kinds of Grandeur, were coming, by Degrees, to have some Taste of it. He had indeed too exalted a Mind himself to give Way to Luxury; but from this Time led an active Life, continually labouring for the Good of his Country. He even took the Post of a Drummer, forbidding his Captain to remember that he was Czar. He served with all due Submission, lived upon his Pay, and lay in the Tent of a Drummer, till promoted to the Degree of a Serjeant; which was not till he deserved it in the Opinion of his Officers, whom he would punish if they judg'd too favourably of him. By this Procedure, he gave his Nobility to understand, that Birth alone was not enough to entitle them to Military Pre-ferments.

He frequently made Re-inforcements to this Company, having them disciplined in the *German* Way, and giving the Command to Foreigners, till he had a considerable Body of well-regulated Troops, which he would engage

in Parties against each other, and the Representation of Mock-Sieges and Battles. The *Streletzes* looked on these Sights as the diverting Amusements of a young Prince, and little suspected how much their own Interest was concerned in them: For *Peter*, thinking those Guards had too much Power, and were too strongly attached to the Princess *Sophia*, resolv'd to furnish himself with Soldiers better disciplin'd, and more to be depended on.

And now, to the utter Extinction of all the Hopes of his Sister, his Wife was this Year, 1690, deliver'd of a Son, who, according to the *Muscovite* Fashion, having the Christian Name of his Father given for a Surname, was call'd *Alexis Petrowitz*.

The Foreigners in the Czar's Guards so highly pleas'd him, that he was resolv'd to have a Number of such as were skill'd in different Professions, that he might introduce Arts and Sciences into his Country. M. *Le Fort* observ'd to him, that it would be impossible to succeed in this Design without a Regulation of his Finances; that his Revenues were not sufficient to support that great Number of Foreigners he talk'd of, who would be brought into his Service only on a Prospect of Advantage. He made it appear, that the Reason of his Revenues being so inconsiderable in ready Money, was the heavy Taxes on all Sorts of Goods, which made the Merchants contrive to defraud him of his Customs. The Czar, convinc'd of the Reason of all this, lower'd his Duties from 10 per Cent to 4 or 5, and inflict'd severe Penalties on such as were guilty of Frauds. By this wholesome Advice, his Revenues, the very first Year after, were increased near two Millions of *Roubles*. There soon appear'd in *Russia* an infinite Number of all Nations, especially *Germans*, *Scots*, and *French*, not only Officers and Soldiers for the Army, but Men skill'd in every Profession. *Le Fort* was the first who built a Palace of Cut Stone in *Moscow*; which rais'd an Emulation in others to do the like, for the Embellishment of that City.

This worthy Favourite of the Czar, was belov'd by all who knew him: He was disinterested to that Degree, that he never accept'd of any Present from those

he put into Employment; but yet, by justifiable and honourable Means, acquired immense Riches, which he possessed without Envy from the *Russians*. He saved the Lives of an infinite Number of Great Men, to whom the Czar would have given the *Knout*, or beheaded them with his own Hands, many times on trifling Occasions. *Le Fort* would present his own Head or Shoulders to his Majesty, bidding him cut or strike there, but spare the innocent Person. The Czar, being made sensible of his Barbarity, would take him in his Arms, and kiss him, and sometimes the trembling and just now devoted Victim. To take away all jealousy from the *Russians* against the Foreigners he had introduced, *Le Fort* would recommend such of the Natives for Preferment, whom he himself, or some of those Foreigners, had taken Pains to qualify for the most profitable Employments. His own Merit was fixed on so solid a Basis, that he feared no Rivals: A Proof of which was, the Care he took to fit *Menzikoff*, who was just then taken into Favour, from the Dregs of the People, for the great Posts he afterwards enjoyed.

Alexander Menzikoff, when the Czar first took Notice of him, had no higher an Employment than singing Ballads, and crying a Sort of Puffs and Cakes, called in the *Russian* Language, *Piragi Podowi*, about the Streets of *Moscow*. His Parents were Vassals of the Monastery of *Cosmopoli*, on the Western Banks of the River *Volga*. They could give him no better Education than their own, and he could neither write nor read; but, being arrived at the Age of 13 or 14, he left them without saying a Word, and was taken into the Service of a Pastry-Cook.

One Day, as this fortunate Lad was crying his Pastry about the Streets, the Czar being diverted with one of his Songs, sent for him, and asked him, If he would sell his Pies, and his Basket? The Boy reply'd, That he had Power to sell his Pies, but for disposing of his Basket, he must ask his Master's Leave: However, as every Thing belonged to his Majesty, he needed only to command it. This Reply so pleased the Czar, that he ordered *Menzikoff* to come to Court, and said he would make his Fortune. He had at first a mean Employment, but

but the Czar frequently talking to him, and observing his Wit, advanced him soon to be Groom of his Bed-chamber. Being very handsome in his Person, tall and well shaped, he lifted himself into *M. Le Fort's* Company of Soldiers, who instructed him with Knowledge and Skill to command Armies, which he afterwards undertook with the greatest Success.

The Troops of *Siberia*, Subjects of the Czar, having been long engaged in War against the *Chinese Tartars*, in the Year 1691 a Treaty of Peace was set on Foot between them, and soon brought to a happy Conclusion.

Siberia, with the Provinces belonging to it, makes a considerable Part of the *Russian* Dominions, extending towards the South-East as far as the River *Argun*, within a few Days Journey of the famous Wall of *China*. This Country was conquered, about 150 Years since, in the Reign of *John Basil*, the Tyrant. *Jeremak Timofeevitch*, a Pirate, having much harassed the Czar's Subjects, and hearing the Troops of that Prince were coming against him, implored the Protection of one *Stroganoff*, a very rich *Russ* Merchant, who had a great Number of flat-bottom'd Vessels, which he constantly employed in the River *Volga*, maintaining Pastors at all the great Towns on that River, and at several Places on the eastern Rivers which fall into it, and thereby extending his Commerce to the River *Oby*. This Merchant, on the Pirate's Promise of subduing the Country to the Power of the Czar, supply'd him with Vessels, and what he wanted for the Expedition, and likewise promised to procure his Pardon. With this Encouragement, he went up the River *Serebrenkoi*, possessed himself of a strong Fortress, slew all he met, and then returning to the Capital of *Siberia*, there killed the King, and brought his Sons away Prisoners to *Moscow*, where, not many Years since, remained a Descendant of the Family, who had the Title of the *Siberian Czarowitz*.

The Pirate, after this Success, going down the River *Irtis*, was attacked in the Night by a Party of *Tartars*: In the Skirmish he lost the best Part of his People, and endeavouring to save himself, by jumping out of one Vessel into another, was drowned. *Stroganoff* had sent to Court in the mean Time, and obtained his Pardon:

He likewise sent Troops to fortify the Places *Jeremak* had taken. Thus it was that this Country, before without a Name, fell to the *Muscovites*, who call it *Siberia*, a Word signifying a Prison, because hither are sent many Criminals, some to perpetual Banishment, and some for a Term of Years, who are obliged to shoot for their Livings or starve, and to bring in a certain Quantity of Furs Weekly, or be severely punished. They must take particular Care that the Furs are without Holes or Stains of Blood, which make them very dextrous in shooting with a single Ball at the Head of the Creature. The great Number of *Saunders* sent hither after the Battle of *Puloxa*, exercising various Kinds of Trades, and some setting up little Schools, has rendered the Country somewhat less savage than formerly.

The River *Oby* runs quite thro' the Province, and, like the *Volga*, is well stored with Sturgeon and Bellugas. The last is a Fish 12 or 15 Feet long, large, and resembling a Sturgeon. The Meat is whiter than Veal, and as delicious as Marrow. When the Floods come down from the Mountains, by the Melting of the Snows, these Fish swallow large Stones to make them the heavier, and better able to stem the Torrent, which they throw up again when the Waters abate. It is of the soft Roes of the Belluga, and the Sturgeon together, that the People of *Astracan* make *Caviere*.

In this Part of the Czar's Dominions are several Iron Works; and the Iron brought from thence is thought better than any other in *Muscovy*. There is also a Sort of Ivory, the Tooth of an amphibious Creature called a *Behemoth*, found about the River *Lama*, and the adjacent Lakes. This Province brings a considerable Revenue into the Czar's Treasury, maintains the Garrisons in the Country, and sends constant Recruits to the Army. By the Way of this Country also the *Russians* carry'd on a beneficial Trade to *China*, a considerable Caravan of Merchants going thither every Year, who barter'd chiefly the rich Furs of *Siberia* for Tea, and other *Chinese* Commodities.

The Subjects of *Siberia*, during the War, had built a Fort on the River *Amur*; but this was relinquished to the *Chinese* by Count *Gollowin*, in the Peace of 1691, and

and the Bounds between each Country settled to be at the Head of the River *Argun*.

Having thus made Peace with a foreign Power, *Peter* was not without some Troubles at home. A Suspicion of Disloyalty was raised against his Wife, and on this Pretence, he put her away, and had her strictly confined all the Rest of her Days; tho' the real Cause of this hard Treatment was reported to be some reproachful Language she had bestowed on *Menzikoff*, complaining, that he carried her Husband to visit lewd Women, who were formerly his Customers for Cakes: Which Reflection upon his old Calling, it is said, raised in him so strong a Resentment, that he pursued his Revenge upon the Son, even to his Destruction many Years after. But it will be found in the Sequel of this History, that the Czar had but too much Cause to proceed as he did against this wicked Son. A more probable Reason of the Czar's ill Usage of his Wife, was the Dislike she shewed to the Alterations he was about to make in his Country, which was to him the greatest of all Offences.

In the Year 1692, Mr. *Ibrant*, a *Danish* Gentleman, was sent by the Czars *John* and *Peter* to confirm the Peace negotiated by Count *Gollowin*, and settle Articles of Commerce with *China*. He took Leave of their Majesties in the Month of *March*, 1692, and left *Moscow* with a Train of 21 Persons, 12 *Germans*, and 9 *Russians*. These were followed by Carriages, with the necessary Provisions for so long a Journey. He passed thro' the several Countries of the *Syrenes*, the *Wogulski Tartars*, the *Siberians*, the *Ostiacks*, the *Tungutes*, the *Burates*, and other Vassals of their Czarian Majesties; saw the Towns of *Solikamskoi*, *Neujanaskoi*, *Tobolski*, *Samarskoi-jam*, *Surgut*, *Keetkoi*, *Jeneskoi*, *Eurataskoi*, *Jekuskski*, *Udinskoi*, *Telimta*, *Nerzinskoi*, and many others that were hardly heard of before, of which he gives an Account in his Journal. On the 8th of *October*, 1693, he arrived at the famous Wall, which separates *China* from the *Morgul Tartars*. This Wall far exceeds any of the 7 Wonders, so much boasted of by the Antients. It is at least 300 *German Leagues* in Length; above 30 Cubits high, and from 12 to 15 in Thickness. It is

extended on the Tops of Mountains, and forms many Arches for Rivers to pass under. It is entirely built of Flint Stones, so well cemented, that it has now lasted near 2000 Years. There are Towers on it at the Distance of two Bow-Shots from each other. A Million of Soldiers formerly guarded it, but it has at present only some Guards at the Avenues. The *Chinese* affirm, that when the Emperor *Hoan-ti* first built it, to stop the Progress of the *Tartars*, he ordered the whole Empire of *China* to furnish 3 Men out of every 10 for the Work, and that this stupendous Wall was finished in 5 Years.

M. *Iybrant* made his Entry into *Pekin* on the 3d of November, and on the 14th had an Audience of the Emperor *Cum-li*, who received him in a most distinguished Manner; which was chiefly attributed to the Jesuits about him, who by this Means were in Hopes of obtaining some Privileges for their Society in *Russia*.

M. *Iybrant*, having his Commission, left *Pekin* on the 19th of February, 1694, and taking the shortest Rout to return to *Moscow*, arrived within 5 Wersts of that Capital on the last Day of the same Year, making but 10 Months and 10 Days in his Return, whereas he had been more than 19 Months going from *Moscow* to *Pekin*. The Czar *Peter* went to meet him, impatient to hear the Recital of his long Voyage, and especially to enquire after such Circumstances as might favour his Design of establishing the Trade of his Subjects to that rich Empire.

The Czar had by chance taken Notice of a *Dutch* Yacht, that lay disused in a Canal belonging to one of his Houses of Pleasure, with which being wonderfully pleased, and having talked of it to his Favourite M. *Le Fort*, that ingenious Gentleman so strongly laid before him the Advantages that the Maritime Powers of *Europe* reaped from their naval Affairs, that he, from that Instant, was resolved to turn his Views that Way, and immediately gave Orders to some *Hollanders*, who were then at *Moscow*, to build several small Vessels, and afterwards 4 Frigates of 4 Guns each, in which he would often divert himself upon the *Perisslausky* Lake, and caused now and then Mock-Fights to be performed thereon, in which he acted as a Sea Captain, and from thence forward took that Title upon him.

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The Czar all this while had neglected the War with the *Crim Tartars*, who avoided all Occasions of drawing the Arms of the *Russians* upon them; and the *Cham* had made no late Demand of the 80,000 annual *Roubles*. On the other Hand, it was not for the Interest of the Czars, to aggrandize the *Poles*, who were no sooner able to support themselves without the Help of their Neighbours, than they treated them with insufferable Pride. But the *Tartars*, having now nothing to fear in their own Country, committed many cruel Ravages in the Dominions under the King of *Poland*; upon which the Ministers of that Prince represented to the Czars how favourable an Opportunity they had to reduce the *Tartars* to such a Condition, as that they should be never able to molest them again. In fine, at the Instance of the Emperor of *Germany*, the *Poles* and *Venetians*, *Russia* declared War with the *Turks* and *Tartars*. *Peter* commanded several Vessels to be built on the River *Veroniz*, which, with some open Boats of the *Cossacks*, who inhabit on the *Tanais*, he employed next Year in besieging *Asoph*.

The Year 1695 beheld the first Campaign of the two most formidable Monarchs of *Europe*, *Peter I.* Czar of *Muscovy*, and *Mustapha II.* Emperor of the *Turks*. This last succeeded his Uncle *Achmet II.* whose Conduct displeasing him as much as his Father's, he was resolved to take other Measures, and to know and do every Thing himself. He knew how, by the Severity of his Discipline, to re-establish Affairs, and resolved to march himself at the Head of an Army, he designed for *Hungary*. He had nothing to fear from the Side of *Poland*, from whence an Envoy was just then come, to propose a separate Peace; but he was much alarmed at the Preparations making by the Czar against the *Tartars*, because this obliged them to refuse sending him the usual Succours: However, notwithstanding all the *Cham* could say, he forced him to appear in the *Ottoman* Army, at the Head of 6000 Men. The Czar, in this Expedition, entered himself as an Ensign only; but he had an Army of about 80 or 90,000 Men, divided into two Bodies, one to attack *Asoph*, the other to support the *Dougli Cossacks* against the *Tartars*, if they should attempt

tempt to throw any Succours into the Town. But this the *Turks* were able to do by Water; and, making frequent Sallies, held out a resolute Defence for above two Months. The *Russians*, whenever they skirmished with the Enemy, had the better of them, and began to play their Batteries with good Success: But the Progress they had made, was all rendered fruitless, by the Treachery of one *Jacob*, a Foreigner, employed in the *Russian* Artillery, who, having been ill used by his Officer, nailed up the Cannon upon his Batteries, and deserting to the Enemy, informed them of what he had done. On this Information, they made a bold Sally, and put the *Muscovites* into such Confusion, that they were forced to leave the Place for that Year, and turn the Siege into a Blockade. This first Campaign of the Czar *Peter*, and the Accounts of whatever he performed himself, were so advantageously related, as gave the World an Idea of him quite different from what had been conceived of any of his Predecessors, and began to raise those Hopes of him which were afterwards fully accomplished: But Fame was somewhat too speedy when she carried the News of the Reduction of *Asoph*, which Design miscarried at the very Instant that it was thought secure.

Soon after his Majesty's Return to *Moscow*, in the Month of *February*, 1696, dy'd his Brother, the Czar *John Alexiowitch*. He was buried at *Moscow*, in the Church of *St. Michael*, where most of the Dukes and Czars of *Moscow* have been deposited, with a Tomb more magnificent than any of the rest. He left 3 Daughters, one of which, *ANNE JOANNOVNA*, sways at present the Imperial Scepter of *Russia*.

CHAP.

CHAP III.

The Czar takes Asoph. Builds a Fleet. Determines to travel. A Conspiracy against him; discovered. His Journey to Holland and England. A Conspiracy while he is abroad. He returns to Moscow. Punishes the Rebels. Settles his Army and Navy. Institutes the Order of St. Andrew. Declares War with Sweden. Account of the Muscovite Religion. The Czar reforms the Abuses in his Revenues.

PETER, now sole Monarch of *Russia*, having employed several Foreigners to build more Vessels at *Veronis*, went in 1696 a second Time against *Asoph*, and acting with great Vigour aboard his own Fleet, when the *Turks* came before the Bar, laid an Ambuscade behind a small Island, and then making a Shew of retiring, fell upon them, took and sunk several of their Vessels, and beat them back over the Bar. At the same Time his Majesty largely recruited his Army, which, under the Command of General *Gordon*, a *Scotchman*, carried on the Siege with great Resolution. The Enemy, every Way distressed by the Behaviour of the Czar and his Army, were obliged to surrender, upon Condition of being allowed to retire without their Arms, and to deliver up *Jacob*, the treacherous Engineer; who was carried to *Moscow*, where he was broke alive upon the Wheel, after having been three Times tortured on the *Pine*.*

His Czarish Majesty gave Notice to all the Princes of Christendom of the Success of his Arms; and his Minister at the Court of *Vienna* observed to his Imperial

* This Punishment is executed in the following Manner: The Criminal's Hands being tied together behind his Back, he is drawn up by a Rope fastened to them; having a large Weight hanging at his Feet. His Shoulders being turned out of Joint, and his Arms coming over his Head, the Executioner is then to give him so many Strokes as the Judge has ordered: Between whiles a Writer examines the Offender, which being done, his Arms are put into Joint again, and he is either dismissed or sent back to Prison.

Majesty, that, after what his Master had done for the common Cause, it would be very injurious to make Peace without him. The Czar himself likewise let the Emperor know, that the *Cham* of *Tartary* had sent Propositions to him, but that he had ordered his Ambassadors to be told, that he must apply to the Emperor of the *Romans*. The Sincerity of this Behaviour engaged his Imperial Majesty to enter into a Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Czar, for 3 Years. The *Venetians* also, being informed of the favourable Dispositions of his Czarish Majesty, sent full Powers to their Ambassador at *Vienna* to conclude an Alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Minister of *Russia*; and the King of *Sweden*, *Charles XI.* offered the same, notwithstanding the Provinces of *Sweden*, bordering on *Russia*, were at that Time in a miserable Condition.

The Czar, when he returned to *Moscow*, received the Compliments of all the *Boyars* upon his Victory; and finding, by the Experience he got in this Action, the great Advantage of a maritime Force, he resolved to establish a Navy in the *Black-Sea*. He therefore commanded that Workmen should be sent for from *Holland*, *Venice*, and other Parts of *Italy*, to build Gallies and Ships, determining to have a strong Fleet built and equipt, with all Things ready to put to Sea, within the Space of 3 Years. Besides the usual Taxes paid for the Support of the War, he obliged several of his richest *Boyars* to build each of them a Ship at his own Expence; but allowed them the Honour of giving their own Names to the Vessels so built. The Monasteries, Cities and Towns, the Merchants and Gentlemen in every District throughout his Dominions, were to pay their Proportion towards the Charge of this Undertaking; and every one's Proportion was to be doubled, if it was not completed by the Time he had fixed for it. But the Czar reflecting on the Inconvenience of having no Vessels but what were built by Strangers, resolved on a Way to remedy that for the future; and declared his Intentions to travel while his Fleet was preparing. He likewise appointed some of the Prime of his young Nobility, and the Sons of others, to travel into different Parts

Parts of *Europe*; with Instructions what they ought to study, that was most suitable to their Genius. Some of these Gentlemen obeyed with a very ill Will, and it is said that one of them locked himself up in his House at *Venice* for 4 Years, that, at his Return, he might have the Satisfaction of not having seen or learnt any Thing. The Czar, besides the Design of improving these young Gentlemen, had another View in thus dispersing them, which was to prevent any Dangers from their meeting together in his Absence.

The *Muscovites* were great Enemies to all Innovations, and this Ship-building was a Thing entirely new to them; but, above all, their being put to the Expence of it, and their being forced to send their Sons to travel, occasioned great Uneasinesses, which were not a little fomented by the Priests, who took care to insinuate among the People, that this would be a great Means of corrupting the young Nobility in the Principles of their Religion. Not even the Envoys sent to Foreign Courts, were allowed, in former Times, to take their own Sons with them. It is no Wonder that People with these narrow Notions, should murmur at the Czar's shewing so great a Regard to Strangers, and now preparing to leave his own Country. He had likewise form'd a Project, and actually employed a Person about it, to open a Communication with *Asoph*, by a navigable Canal between the *Volga* and *Tanais*: But this Design, grand as it was, some of the indolent *Russians* represented as a Piece of Impiety, being to turn the Streams one Way, which Providence had directed another.

The Apprehensions of the People gave a good Opportunity to the discontented *Boyars*, who were in the Princess *Sophia's* Interest, to attempt something that might give a Turn to the Affairs of State. With these Views, it was agreed to fire some Houses near the Czar's Palace, and to assassinate him, when he should come out to assist in extinguishing the Flames. They resolved next to release the Princess *Sophia* out of Prison, and put the Crown on her Head: After which they were to restore the *Strelitzes*, who had been removed from their Posts, on Account of the Rebellion, headed by *Couvalski*.

fin. And next they were to massacre all Foreigners, and the Czar's new Favourites.

Three great Lords, one Colonel of the *Don-Cossacks*, and several Officers of the *Strelitzes*, were engaged in the Plot, which was to have been put in Execution on the 2d of *February*, 1697: But the very Day before, two Captains of the *Strelitzes* went and threw themselves at his Majesty's Feet, at the House of M. *Le Fort*, made an ample Confession of the whole Business, and gave in the Names of the principal Persons concerned in it.

The Czar immediately rose from Table, without discovering any Surprise, and, taking only a few Persons with him, went and seized on the Chiefs of the Conspirators, among whom he found one of his own Privy-Council. They were presently put to the Torture, and having confessed their Crimes, were soon after executed. The Heads of the Criminals were severed from their Bodies, and stuck on Spikes at the Top of a Column, erected for that Purpose, in the great Market Place before the Gates of the Castle, their Legs and Arms hanging about the Column, and their Bodies left, being exposed in the Market Place till the Frost broke, and then flung into a Pit, among the executed Bodies of common Thieves and Malefactors.

Having punished the Heads of this Conspiracy, the Czar began to prepare for his Journey: He sent M. *Le Fort*, now a Lieutenant-General in his Army, and Admiral of his Fleet, with Count *Gollowin* and M. *Wojiszetzyn*, his Ambassadors Extraordinary to the *States General of Holland*, and went himself *incognito* in their Train. He likewise took with him some of his particular Favourites, whom he designed to have instructed in the Art of Ship-building.

During his Absence, he left the Administration of the Government to three *Bojars*; his Uncle *Narashin*, Prince *Galiczin*, the Lord *Peter Procorofky*. He ordered 12,000 Soldiers, commanded by General *Gordon*, to be quartered about the Suburbs of *Moscow*; sent the suspected *Strelitzes* to the Frontiers of *Turky*, under the Command of General *Schein*; and in the Month of *May*, 1697, began his Journey with the Grand Embassy.

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The first Place of any Note, that they came to, was *Riga*, the principal Town and Key of *Livonia*. This City, built at the Mouth of the River *Duna*, is large, having 9 Gates. At *Carle-Port*, the Chief, is a Range of Calerns, for Soldiers to lodge in, a hundred Paces in Length, which are Bomb-Proof. The Governor here paid great Respect to the Embassy; but refusing to shew the Fortifications to *Menzikoff* and *Le Fort*, the Czar was so much incensed, that he said to his Favourites: *He hoped he should see the Day, when he should be able to refuse the same Thing to the King of Sweden himself.* And this was afterwards, in a Manifesto he published, given as one Reason, tho' certainly no very good one, for declaring War with the *Swedes*.

His Czarish Majesty came next to *Koningsberg*, in the Dominions of the Elector of *Brandenburg*: A City divided into three Parts, in all which are 9 Churches, besides Chapels. Here is an Academy, which has produced considerable Men in every Science; and a Library well replenished with Books. The Town is defended by a good Castle, that commands the Harbour. The Elector sent M. *Dankleman* to compliment them in his Name, and accompany them into the City. After Dinner M. *Besser*, the Master of the Ceremonies, arrived at the same Place, with a great Company of Nobility, who introduced them with great Ceremony. Their Excellencies were conducted to a magnificent Lodging, the Burghers being drawn out, and lining the Streets in a double File, all the Way. As soon as they alighted, they were conducted to their Apartment; which was guarded by 24 Soldiers; and then the Lords of the Court, together with M. *Dankleman*, and the Master of the Ceremonies, left them.

Four Days after, the Ambassadors had their Publick Audience of the Elector, to which they were conducted by M. *Dankleman*, and the Master of the Ceremonies, with a Train of 30 Coaches. The Ambassadors, richly habited, entered the great Hall of the Castle, where the Elector was seated on a Throne, attended by the principal Lords of his Court. After they had every one in their Order complimented his Electoral Highness, they delivered him a Letter, in which the Czar told him, that

that he sent that Embassy to assure him of his Desire to improve the good Correspondence which had always subsisted between his Electoral Highness and himself, as well as between their illustrious Ancestors: That the same Embassy, being to proceed to the Court of *Vienna*, his Czarish Majesty requested the Elector to assist them in their Journey. Withal returning his Highness Thanks for the Engineers and Bombardiers which he sent him the last Year, and which had been so useful to him in the Siege of *Asoph*. To all which, the Elector answered, That he was much obliged to the Czar for the Assurance of his good Intentions, and the splendid Embassy he had sent to him. And then *M. Dankleman* returned an Answer more at large, and very obligingly, to the Compliments of the several Ambassadors; who were, the same Evening, entertained with a Show of Fire-Works, which lasted till Midnight.

In this City his Czarish Majesty had all the Respect paid to him that he desired, and, having discovered himself to the Elector, nothing was deny'd to him that he had an Inclination to see or have. He staid here some Time, and diverted himself with sailing on the *Elb*, a Lake of about 30 Leagues in Length, lying between *Koningsberg* and *Dantzick*.

In his Way from hence to *Koningsberg*, his Majesty received Advice, that the Elector of *Saxony* was chosen King of *Poland*, but that the Cardinal Primate had protested in Favour of the Prince of *Conti*, who, with a Squadron of *French* Men of War, then lay before *Dantzick*; notwithstanding which, the Town declared for his Rival, King *Augustus*. The Czar, as soon as he received this Advice, sent Orders to his Ambassadors in *Poland* to maintain the Right of Election, and to assure King *Augustus*, that he had 60,000 Men in readiness to support him. He likewise sent Orders to his Troops in the *Ukrain*, and about *Smolensko*, to advance towards the Frontiers of *Lithuania*, to keep that Dutchy in his Interest. He had good Reason for what he did; for *France* being in Alliance with the *Turk*, if their Party had prevailed, it was very probable that he would not only have made Peace with the *Porte*, but have turned his Arms against the Czar.

The

The next Place his Majesty arrived at was *Dantzick*, the Capital of *Polish Pomerania*, distant 145 Miles from *Warsaw*. It lies about 4 Miles from the Sea, upon a Branch of the *Weissel*, and is accounted one of the chief *Hanse* Towns, and greatest trading Cities in *Europe*. It is encompassed by a Wall so broad, that Coaches can easily go round upon it, and the Fortifications are of a vast Extent; but, being commanded by two Hills on the South-West, cannot hold out a brisk Siege. The chief Trade of the City is in Corn from *Poland*, which makes it the Granary of *Holland* and the Northern Countries. The Number of Inhabitants in this City were usually reckoned 200,000. Their constant Number of Soldiers in Pay is only 200, but they can easily maintain 12,000, and have sometimes had an Army of 60,000 Men. One of the Suburbs here is called *Scotland*, and inhabited by *Scots*, all of that Nation being allowed to be Freemen of the City, in Consideration of the great Service they formerly did the Place, under the Conduct of one of the Family of *Douglas*. The established Religion of the City is Protestantism, but they tolerate Roman Catholics. They have 24 Churches, generally magnificent: The chief of them is so large, that it has 48 Altars, and 3722 Windows. The Harbour, tho' not deep enough to admit Ships of very great Force, hath sometimes received Vessels of 400 Ton and 40 Guns.

In this and most other maritime Places, his Majesty had very handsome Presents sent to him, under the Shew of doing it to the Ambassadors, who were complimented with all the Marks of Respect that could be imagined; but his Majesty would suffer no Ceremony to be paid to himself. He had so great a Desire to be in *Holland*, that he tarried not long at any of the Sea-Ports in the *Baltick*, and but a few Days at *Hamburg*. He travelled not to satisfy a vain Curiosity, or to shew the Gaiety of his Dress and Equipage; so far from it, that he commonly went about in the Jacket of a *Dutch* Skipper, that he might the more easily mix with the Seafaring People.

When his Majesty approached the Frontiers of the *United Provinces*, the States General appointed Deputies to receive the Embassy, with the highest Marks of Honour

nour that could be shewn upon such an Occasion. The Streets and Windows at *Amsterdam* were crowded with Spectators, when the Ambassadors entered that City, conducted by a great Number of Persons, who went out with splendid Equipages to meet them. At Night there were Illuminations, and fine Fire-works before the House prepared for the Ambassadors, whose Expences the States took upon themselves to defray. The *Dutch* did all this, and a great deal more, to give the Czar a favourable Impression of their Country, and prevent his entering into Engagements with other Nations, who were their Rivals in the *Russian Trade*.

Before the Ambassadors arrived at *Amsterdam*, the Czar enter'd that City *incognito*, introduced only by a few Merchants, whom he had known at *Moscow*. The Magistrates also, having Intimation of it, deputed some considerable Persons to wait upon him, and prepared a magnificent House for his Reception: But he was not to be persuaded to accept of it, chusing a little House in the *East-India Company's* Ship yard, where he enter'd himself as a common Carpenter, by the Name of *Peter Michaelsoff*. Here he lived several Months, with two or three of his Favourites; but was observed to work with greater Assiduity than any of his Companions, who had not any Motives comparable to his, which was to increase the Wealth and Glory of his Country. He worked for the greatest Part of the Day with a Carpenter's Broad Ax, wearing the same Sort of Habit as the *Dutchmen*; and at other Times he would divert himself with sailing upon the Water. Strict Orders were given, that all Sorts of People should be forbid to gaze upon him, which, of all Things, was what gave him the greatest Uneasiness. Yet he would sometimes admit of private Visits, and go to private Entertainments; particularly to Burgo-master *Whiston's*, a Gentleman vastly rich in Shipping, and famous for his Love of Arts, having sent Persons abroad, at his own Expence, to make Discoveries in all Parts of the World; and been at great Charge in fixing large Telescopes, for observing the celestial Bodies.

On

On the 27th of *September*, the Ambassadors made their publick Entry at the *Hague*, and, after having had an Audience of King *William III.* as Stadtholder, on the 5th of *October* they went to *Utrecht*, where they were introduced to a publick Audience of the States General. General *Le Fort*, the Chief of the Embassy, produced the Credential Letters, and made a Speech to their High Mightinesses. Count *Gollowin* spoke likewise. The Audience lasted above half an Hour; during which the Ambassadors, and the States General, contrary to the usual Custom, stood all the Time.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Brandenburg*, paid Visits, which were returned by the *Russian Ministers*; but those of *France*, irritated by the Czar's having espoused the Interest of King *Augustus*, thought to revenge themselves by not paying the due Respect. The Embassy remained at the *Hague* till the 30th of *October*: But the Czar continued there till the 7th of *November*, that he might have a particular Interview with the King of *England*, on the Design which he had formed of going to *London*.

During the Time that his Majesty was in *Holland*, he received the agreeable News of his Army's having obtained a Victory over the *Turks* and *Tartars*. General *Schein* being arrived before *Asoph*, and having joined the other Generals, their Troops together made up an Army of 70 or 80,000 Men. The Sultan *Galga* appeared on the 30th of *July*, at the Head of the Hordes of *Crimæa*, *Nogai*, *Edissanskî*, and *Cuban*, to attack the Army. They sustained the first Shock from General *Schein* with a good deal of Vigour; but after the Battle had lasted some Hours, they were entirely routed, and drove as far as the River *Halianka*, which they endeavoured to cross in such Disorder, that the greatest Part of their Army was lost. This Battle lasted above 10 Hours, and was the more Glorious to his Czarish Majesty, in that he lost but very few Men. This Victory was preceded by another Advantage gained at Sea, over the *Tartars*, who had attempted to surprise *Asoph* with a large Number of Vessels full of Troops. The Body of Troops that were on the Side of the *Nieper*, made good Progress likewise, and became so terrible, even to the *Crimæa*,

Crimea, that the *Cham* was resolved to use his utmost Efforts to be delivered from them : For which Reason he hazarded another Battle near *Kassikermen*, in which the *Russians* and *Cossacks* had the same Advantages as in the First ; and it cost the *Cham* the Life of one of his Sons, and several of the *Turkish* Bahaws. These Advantages were followed by the taking many little Places belonging to the *Tartars*, which left General *Schein* at Liberty to send a Detachment of Men to assist at the Canal that was now making, for a Communication between the *Caspian* and *Black-Sea*. This Year, in short, was every where fatal to the *Turks*. The greatest Blow they felt was in the famous Battle of *Zenta*, where the Imperial Army, under Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, gave them a total Defeat.

At the same Time that his Czarish Majesty received this News, he had an Account of the Death of *Charles XI.* King of *Sweden*, with whom he had lived in good Friendship. This Prince left but one Son, and two Daughters, the Dutchess of *Holslein Gottorp*, and the present Queen of *Sweden*. He put off the Majority of his Son *Charles XII.* to the Age of 18, and appointed his Mother Regent of the Kingdom : But as the Laws of *Sweden* had fixed the Majority of their Kings to the Age of 15, the States thought proper to change this Disposition, and the King's Majority being declared, he was crowned the same Year.

In the Middle of *January*, the Czar embarked at *Helvoetsluys*, for *London*. While his Majesty was in *Holland*, he had seen several *English* built Ships, whose Beauty and Proportion pleased him much better than those of the *Dutch* Ships. He resolved therefore to come over hither, that he might improve his Knowledge in the Theory of Ship-building. Upon an Intimation of this Intention, King *William* sent him his Compliments, and several Servants were appointed to attend him and his Retinue, who were all honourably entertained at the King's Charge, the whole Time that he staid in *England*, and also in his Passage backwards and forwards. A handsome House was provided for him at the Bottom of *York-Buildings* ; and he had several Interviews with the King, Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and many

many of the *English* Nobility : But he was most pleased with the then Marquis of *Carmarthen*, afterwards Duke of *Leeds*, who like himself delighted in maritime Affairs, and gave him all the Information he could into the Knowledge of Shipping.

During his Stay in *England*, he went to see the University of *Oxford* ; was once to visit the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and many Times to see our Cathedrals, Churches, and Dissenting Meeting-Houses in the Time of Service. Bishop *Burnet*, who waited on him often, and was desired, both by the King and the Bishops, to offer him such Informations of our Religion and Constitution as he was willing to receive, describes him thus : " He is a Man of a very hot Temper, soon inflamed, and very brutal in his Passion. He raises his natural Heat by drinking much Brandy, which he rectifies himself with great Application. He is subject to convulsive Motions all over his Body, and his Head seems to be affected with these. He wants not Capacity, and has a larger Measure of Knowledge, than might be expected from his Education, which was very indifferent. A Want of Judgment, with an Instability of Temper, appears in him too often, and too evidently. He is mechanically turned, and seems designed by Nature rather to be a Ship-Carpenter, than a great Prince. This was his chief Study and Exercise, while he staid here. He wrought much with his own Hands, and made all about him work at the Models of Ships. He told me, he designed a great Fleet at *Asoph*, and with it to attack the *Turkish* Empire : But he did not seem capable of conducting so great a Design, though his Conduct in his Wars, since this, has discovered a greater Genius in him, than appeared at that Time. He was desirous to understand our Doctrine, but he did not seem disposed to mend Matters in *Muscovy*. He was indeed resolved to encourage Learning, and to polish his People, by sending some of them to travel in other Countries, and to draw Strangers to come and live among them. He seemed apprehensive still of his Sister's Intrigues. There is a Mixture both of Passion and Severity in his Temper. He is resolute, but understands little of War ;

"War; and seemed not at all inquisitive that Way." Matters of Fact contradict Part of this Character, a Part the Bishop has contradicted himself, and the rest may be true.

His Majesty, while he staid at *London*, went to view the *Tower*, where he seemed much pleased with our Armoury, and the Manner of coining Money. He was shewn the two Houses of Parliament, when sitting; and was prevailed upon twice or thrice to go to the Play. It was whisper'd about, that Miss *Cross*, one of the Actresses, had found the Way to please him, and had been once admitted into his Company. His Majesty used to dress after the *English* Fashion, sometimes like a Gentleman, and sometimes like a Sailor. He went abroad with little Attendance, and when the Mob began to gaze at him, he would always quit the Place where he was.

A House in *London*, especially above Bridge, being neither agreeable to his Humour, nor the Design of his coming to *England*, a very neat one was fitted up for him at *Deptford*, where he would often take up the Carpenters Tools, and work with them. Seeing with how much more Skill our People worked than the Ship-Builders in *Holland*, he thought he had mispent all the Time he was there, and used to say he should never have learned his Trade, if he had not come to *England*.

The King sent Admiral *Mitchel* along with him to *Portsmouth*, on Purpose to entertain him with a Mock-Engagement, which he had seen also in *Holland*, but not near so much to his Satisfaction as this: Which gave him so great Pleasure, that he declared he thought an *English* Admiral a happier Man than a Czar of *Muscovy*. In short, he approved so well of all he had seen in *England* relating to our Shipping, that he took several *English* Ship-Builders and Artificers into his Service, to be employed in the Navy he was about to establish. He likewise took other ingenious Workmen of different Kinds to be sent into *Muscovy*, among the rest Captain *John Perry*, who was recommended to him, as a Person capable of serving him in several of his Designs, particularly that of making a Communication between the Rivers *Volga* and *Don*. The Distance of this Commu-

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nication is about 140 *Russ* Miles, by way of two other small Rivers, upon which Sluices were to be placed, to make them navigable. When the *Russians* are in Possession of *Asoph*, this must be of great Advantage to their Country. The Work was first began by one Colonel *Breckell*, a *German*, who understanding very little of this Business, the first Sluice he placed blew up; whereupon he escaped out of the Country. The Czar had an Account of this in *England*, and sent Captain *Perry*, to examine if the Work was practicable or not; which proved so, and is since finished.

While the Czar was here, he entered into a Treaty with some considerable *English* Merchants, for a free Importation of Tobacco into his Dominions, upon this Condition, that it should be first licensed by, and pay 5 s. per Hogshead to, the Marquis of *Caermarthen*. This great Advantage he procured as an Acknowledgment of the Kindness he had received from that Nobleman, and in Return for his obliging Conversation. At a Meeting which the Merchants had with the Czar, the late Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, Master of the *Lastland* Company, observed to him, that he feared the great Aversion the Priests had to Tobacco, would be a great Impediment to their Trade: To which the Czar answered, *That he would do well enough with them when he went home.*

When the Czar left *England*, King *William* gave him leave to take any of his Subjects into his Service that he should have occasion for; and made him a Present of a fine Yacht, called the *Royal Transport*, the best then in *England*. He took with him one Mr. *Fergharson*, an ingenious Mathematician, and two young Mathematicians out of *Christ-Church* Hospital, who, with the Ship-builders and several other Artificers, were sent to *Archangel*, the greatest Part of them in the fine Yacht.

His Czarish Majesty from hence went back to *Holland*, and from thence to *Vienna*, where the Day after his Arrival, he had a private Audience of the Emperor *Leopold* at the Palace de la *Favorita*. Nobody was present at this Interview, but the Count de *Vallenstein*, Grand Chamberlain to the Emperor, and the Count de *Disseuberg* his Grand Equeerry, with General *Le Fort*, who served as the Czar's Interpreter. A few Days

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after Count *Starenberg* gave the Czar and his Ambassadors a magnificent Collation, accompanied with a Concert of Musick, and after that a noble Ball, where were present the principal Lords and Ladies of the Court. On the 9th of *July*, being the Festival of *St. Peter*, he himself gave a great Feast and Ball in *Gunterdorf* House, where the Ambassadors were lodged. The Emperor sent him his Musick, and ordered large Fire-works to be made ready, which were played off in the Evening. The same Day his Imperial Majesty sent a Present, of all Manner of Mathematical Instruments, to the Czar, who two Days after went to see the Armoury, the Library, the Pictures, and all the other Rarities of the Imperial Palace. About a Week after this, a great Feast was prepared at the *Favorita*, which began with a Ball and a Concert of Musick; afterwards a splendid Collation was given to the Company, and then followed another Ball, which lasted till Break of Day. Every Masker was in the Habit of a different Nation; so that almost all the Countries of the World were there represented; and every Prince or Lord had a Lady by his Side, in answerable Habits. Mutual Compliments here passed between the Emperor and the Czar in their Masquerade Dresses. Upon the 29th of *July* the Grand Embassy had their publick Audience; to which they were conducted in a very magnificent Manner, and were treated very splendidly at the Emperor's Expence.

Whilst the Czar was thus on his Travels, conciliating to himself the Affections of the greatest Powers of *Europe*, Intelligence coming to *Moscow* that he intended to make great Alterations in his own Affairs, as soon as he came home, the discontented Party took a Handle from thence to infuse Jealousies into the Minds of the People, which were greatly fomented by the Priests, that his Majesty would subvert their holy Religion. Upon which a Conspiracy was formed to declare the Throne vacant, by his Absence, and to set his Sister thereon in his Stead.

About 10,000 of the *Strelitzes*, who knew they had lost the Czar's Favour, had agreed to join the Conspirators; and the better to colour their Design, they were to make some Complaint concerning their Pay, and march

away

away directly: But the Regency hearing of their Motion, sent several Persons to endeavour to pacify them by fair Means, who used all Methods to prevail with them to return and join the other Forces. They would listen however to no Proposals, till they had been at *Moscow* to see their Friends, as they pretended; from whom they had been so long banished.

Upon hearing an Account of this ill Success of the Deputies, the whole City was in a great Consternation: Many Persons of Condition left *Moscow*, and retired into the Country, dreading what might happen upon the Approach of these Troops, and the Revolt of others. General *Gordon* was ordered to march against the Mutineers, with his Army; which had been many Times in Action with him, and which, for the most part, consisted of old Soldiers and foreign Officers. They came up with the Rebels near the *Jerusalem* Monastery, from whence the General sent some noble Volunteers, and several Officers, to offer them honourable Satisfaction: But they obstinately persisted in their first Resolution, and declared, that if his General led his Army against them, they would oppose him at all hazards. General *Gordon*, upon this, ordered some Cannon to be fired over their Heads, and summoned them to surrender: But the Shot doing no Execution, the Priests declared it was a Miracle, and that the Shot had no Power to hurt them, who were going to fight in Defence of their holy Religion. Thus, puffed up with the true Spirit of Enthusiasm, the Rebels ran furiously upon the General's Army; whereupon a very sharp Engagement ensued, that lasted near two Hours. The Rebels now found that Miracles were ceased, and having 2 or 3000 Men killed on the Spot, surrendered themselves Prisoners. The General hanged up every tenth Man, and brought the rest Prisoners to *Moscow*, where several of the Ring-leaders confessed their Crimes, and discovered the principal Persons concerned with them.

When the first Account of this Rebellion came to the Czar, he was at the Court of *Vienna*, and from thence preparing to go to *Venice*, in which State, as well as at *Rome*, great Preparations were making for his Reception: But this News made him alter his Resolution, and

set out directly for *Moscow*, by the Way of *Poland*, where he had a short Interview with King *Augustus*, His Majesty having concerted Measures with that Prince for the War that was soon after declared against *Sweden*, proceeded with so much Expedition and Secrecy, that he arrived at *Moscow*, before it was known in that City that he was on his Journey. The very next Day he ordered handsome Rewards to be given to those Soldiers who had been steadfast in their Loyalty; ordered the principal Agents of the Rebellion to be brought before him; and having fully examined them, before his *Bojars*, they were all sentenced to Death. A great Number of the Conspirators were beheaded, some broke upon the Wheel, and others buried alive. Above 2000 of the *Strelitzes* were executed; some had their Heads taken off in the Market Place, and others were hanged upon Gallows's erected for that Purpose, at the Gates of all the Walls that encompass the City. Those who were beheaded were laid in Ranks upon the Ground, with their Heads by them, where they were left all the Winter. Other Gibbets were set up in the publick Roads leading to *Moscow*, upon which a great Number of the Rebels were hanged, and large Monuments of Stone were erected near the same, with an Account of their Crimes. The very Houses in which they lived were razed to the Ground, and the Name of *Strelitzes* commanded to be abolished, and changed into that of *Soldates*, or Soldiers. Such of the *Strelitzes* as were judged the least guilty, were only banished to *Siberia*, *Astracan*, *Asoph*, and the farthest Parts of the Empire.

His Majesty, having punished his Enemies, turned his Thoughts on reforming his Government and People. He put his whole Army on a new Footing, and directed a new Manner of disciplining them, agreeable to what he had seen abroad. He ordered an Account to be brought him of all those Nobility and Gentry of considerable Estates, who had no Employments, out of whom he made choice of a great Number, and commanded them to serve as Volunteers in his Army, or go to reside in the Frontier Garrisons. He went down to *Veronis* to view the Ships and Gallies himself, and to hasten the Equipment of his Fleet for the *Black-Sea*.

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The City of *Veronis* is situated on the West-Side of a River of the same Name, having a Citadel on the other Side, joined to it by a large Bridge. It stands upon a high Hill, surrounded with a Wooden Wall, and is divided into three Parts, in one of which the chief of the *Russian* Merchants have their Abode. Upon the Side of the Hill, along the River, there are several Houses, the chief of them belonging to the *Russian* Admirals. Behind these are Streets for those employed in Ship-building. The Ditches about it are full of Water. The Citadel is the chief Magazine, wherein are about 150 Pieces of Cannon. It is defended with Pallisadoes in several Places, and filled with a pretty good Garrison. The Conveniences for Ship-building are on one Side, and the Store House on the other. Here are many Places full of naval Stores, even to the Sailors Clothes. It is computed that there are 10,000 Souls in this Town.

As soon as his Czarish Majesty came hither, he made use of the *English* his chief Master Builders, and ordered that no Ships should be built but after the *English* Models. He put a 50 Gun Ship upon the Stocks, from a Draught he had made himself, and so contrived, that if the Keel should be knocked off, the Vessel would keep tight. He left Orders with Vice-Admiral *Cruß*, Rear-Admiral *Raes*, and some other Officers at *Veronis*, whom he had taken into his Service in *Holland*, to get those Ships and Gallies that were now built, rigged, and ready fitted to be carried down to *Asoph*.

His Majesty had scarce settled Affairs at *Veronis*, before he was hastened to *Moscow*, by the Death of his Favourite *Le Fort*: A Man who highly deserved all the Honours that he had, or could confer upon him. The Czar was sensibly touched with the Loss, and ordered the most magnificent Pomp to attend his Funeral, at which he assisted himself, crying with a loud Voice, *That he had lost his Father*. The Guards, the great Officers of State, the foreign Residents, and the Chief of the *Russian* Nobility, attended this Solemnity, which far surpassed any Thing of the Kind that had ever before been seen at *Moscow*. This great Minister left, at his Death, which was but in the 46th Year of his Age, near a Million of

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Roubles,

Roubles, all acquired without Oppression or Corruption. He married into a very rich Family, the Head of which he had saved, as he had several others, from the Rage of his Master. He was disinterested, humane, just, sober, generous and brave. Never was Servant more beloved by his Prince, or more deserving it: And, what is not very common with Favourites, he gained his Master's Esteem by his Merit only. The Czar himself was present while the Funeral Sermon was preached, in one of the Reformed Churches, and afterwards went with the Body to the Place of Interment, where it was deposited in a Vaulted Tomb, under a Discharge of forty Pieces of Cannon, and the Muskets of all the Regiments, followed by several Pieces of solemn Musick.

This melancholy Office over, his Majesty chose a new Set of Lords to be of his Council: And, that he might do honour to some of those who had faithfully served him, he instituted the Order of *St. Andrew*, which was the first Order of Knighthood ever known in that Country. The Collar is a blue Ribband, to which there hangs a Cross with the Image of that Saint, and there two Letters, S. A. surmounted by an Eagle, and the Sovereign's Name engraven thereon. Prince *Menzikoff* was the first on whom he conferred it.

The Czar's Ministers, at the Treaty of *Carlowitz*, had concluded a Truce with the *Turks* for two Years: But the Emperor, the King of *Poland*, and the *Venetians*, having agreed on Preliminaries for a perpetual Peace, the Czar wrote to King *William*, who was Mediator at the said Treaty, to get the Truce prolonged for him. He, accordingly, sent Orders to the Lord *Paget*, his Ambassador at the *Porte*, to take the same Care of the Czar's Affairs as of the rest of the Princes of Christendom; by which Means the Czar's Truce was prolonged for 25 Years: And the very next Day after the Ratification of it, he declared War with the young King of *Sweden*: As, about the same Time, had the Kings of *Poland* and *Denmark*, who were in Alliance with the Czar. The true Motive of this Declaration was, the Hopes he had of recovering *Ingria*, which had formerly belonged to *Muscovy*, till taken by the great *Gustavus Adolphus*. By possessing this Province, the Czar would be

be enabled to have a Port on the East-Side of the *Baltick*, to complete his great Design of opening new Ways between that and the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Seas, and from those to the Northern Ocean. He had likewise Pretensions to the Province of *Livonia*, which though he would not have liked to have seen in Possession of the *Poles*, yet he was willing to assist them to take it from the *Swedes*.

While the Czar was preparing for the ensuing War, he began his intended Reformation in the Church and State; and even in the Manners, Customs, and Dress of his People.

The *Muscovite* Religion is properly that of the *Greek* Church. They receive the Eucharist in both Kinds; observe four Lents, and have Service daily in their Churches. The great Devotion of the *Muscovites* lies in assisting at Masses, which the Priests begin at Midnight. They repeat the *Miserere* a hundred Times over, and the Priest who can say it oftenest in a Breath, is looked upon as the best Man among them. Before the Time of *Peter I.* it was very extraordinary to meet with one among the Clergy, who knew any Language but his own; the *Russians* never regarding from whence they took their Priests, which they did sometimes from the most mechanical Trades. Such Enemies were they to Learning, that a Press with Letters being sent once from *Poland* to *Moscow*, a Printing-House was erected by the Approbation of one of the former Czars: But the Building was set fire to in the Night, and burnt to the Ground, by the Procurement, as it was generally supposed, of the Priests, who looked upon all Books, but such as treated of their own History, and the Miracles of their Saints, as dangerous as Witchcraft.

The *Muscovites* love to build Churches, and whenever a *Boyar* built an House, he used to raise a Chapel, and maintain in it as many Monks as he could afford. They had many large Monasteries, which had considerable Revenues belonging to them. They paid Adoration to many Saints, had a great Number of Holidays, and much of their Religion consisted in Ceremonies. Of all their Saints, *St. Nicholas* was in greatest Veneration among them. To him they paid Divine Respect, often crying,

crying, A Thing will happen so or so, if it please St. Nicholas. But the most absurd of all Miracles that ever was invented, was what they attributed to St. Anthony, who, they said, came from Rome to Novogorod, by Water on a Mill Stone; of which Voyage they gave a circumstantial Account. One of the Miracles he wrought, as soon as landed, was to order a Company of Fishermen to cast their Nets into the Sea, which having done, they immediately drew up a great Quantity of Fish, and a large Trunk containing several Church Ornaments, sacred Utensils, and priestly Vestments for celebrating the Liturgy. The People tell you farther, that he built himself a little Cell, in which he ended his Days. In this Place there now stands a Chapel, in which they say he was buried, and that his Body remains as uncorrupted and entire as at the Instant of his Death. Over the Door of the Cell the Monks shew a Mill Stone, which they make the ignorant People believe is the very same, that the Saint sailed upon from Rome. Pictures and Images of their Saints, they used to have in great Abundance in their Houses; and were so superstitious, that if in any one had to do with a Woman, they would cover the Images, that they might not be Witnesses of their Actions.

Easter is a Festival of great Joy to the Muscovites, as it puts an End to their longest and severest Lent. On *Easter-Sunday*, and for a Fortnight after, they present Eggs to one another, which are coloured, some red, some blue, some green, and others finely painted, and sold for two or three Rixdollars a-piece. When two Friends meet in the *Easter-Holidays*, they present each other with these, and, joining Hands in a solemn Manner, one says, *Christ is risen*; and the other answers, *Yea he is truly risen*. Some of their Eggs have the same Words written on them, which, when offered, are always accepted. But the most pious of all their Ceremonies was that of *Palm-Sunday*. A hundred Men were then ordered to clean the Streets, before the Procession began. The Czar himself marched on Foot, richly dressed in Cloth of Gold, the Train of his Robe borne up by Princes, and all the Court waiting on him, in their respective Functions. In this Order they proceeded to the Church,

Church, called *Jerusalem*, performing certain Ceremonies by the Way. He used to stay in the Church an Hour, and then returned to his Palace, holding on his Arm the Bridle of the Patriarch's Horse, caparisoned with white Linnen, on which the Prelate rid aside, like a Woman, carrying a Cross in his Hand, and giving his Benediction to the People. The Reins of his Bridle were 3 Ells long, supported by 3 Gentlemen marching behind the Emperor; and the Head of the Horse was held by a Boyar. Instead of a Mitre, the Patriarch wore a flat Cap on his Head, adorned with Diamonds and Golden Loops, edged round with Ermine. A Band of young Men carried several Pieces of Stuff before him, of various Colours. The Metropolitans, the Protopopes, and the Popes, had all of them *Chasubles* on. Of these and other Priests above 500 marched in the Procession, every one carrying something in his Hand. Part of them had great Crosses richly adorned, and so heavy, that some were forced to be carried by four Priests. Then came those who carried the Gospels, which were vastly magnificent; for a single Leaf has cost 6 or 7000 Pounds. The Gentlemen and Lawyers had Boughs of Willow, instead of Branches of Palm, in their Hands. The Czar's Guards, and the People, prostrated themselves flat on the Ground, and a triumphal Arch was borne along with a Tree on it, from which several Boys in the Machine endeavoured to reach Apples that were hanging on it. When the Ceremony was over, the Patriarch sometimes sent the Czar a Purse with 100 Roubles in it; at other times the Czar went home to Dinner with him. There is a Niche in the *Jerusalem* Church, where the Patriarch used to stand to give his Benediction to the People; after which he repeated these Words: *God send our nation these three Days.*

The patriarchal Dignity was introduced in Russia by mere Chance,* by one *Hieronimo*, who was deposed by the Clergy from the patriarchal See of *Constantinople*, which he had very unworthily filled for some Years. He was one of those wandering Greek Prelates, who pretended to have been unjustly persecuted by the Turks. To re-

*De la Motte. Vol. III. P. 140, 141.

venge himself on his own Clergy, and fill his Purse, he proposed to the Czar *Theodore Iwanowitz*, among other Projects, to make *Muscovy*, which had formerly been subject to *Constantinople*, the patriarchal See of all the *Greek Church*, and resign his Dignity to whomever his Majesty should cause to be elected. He brought that Prince the more easily into this Design, since by it he would save a great deal of Money: Upon which he assembled his Council, and the principal Members of the *Russian Church*, who all applauded the Proposal; and the 15th of *January*, 1588, was appointed for the Ceremony. *Hieronimo* went in great Pomp, with the *Russian Clergy*, to the Metropolitan Church of *Our Lady*, where he made an Oration, and delivered his patriarchal Staff and Tiara to the Metropolitan *Jacob*, who was immediately installed with great Solemnity. He afterwards drew up an Instrument of Resignation, and received, before he left *Moscow*, which was soon after, a prodigious Number of valuable Presents from the Czar, the Nobility, the new Patriarch, and the Clergy.

Upon the Death of the last Patriarch, soon after the Czar returned from his Travels, his Majesty resolved to have no other elected; but to make himself sole Head of the Church. However, he appointed the Metropolitan of *Resan*, a *Pole* by Birth, and the most learned among the Clergy, to take upon him the Administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs; of which, from Time to Time, he was to make a Representation to the Czar himself, and receive his Directions therein. The Clergy were not a little disturbed at this great Alteration; and one Bishop having spoke too freely of it, was immediately ordered to be degraded. None of the other Bishops, however, would readily comply in executing this Order, but offered Remonstrances to his Majesty, to shew, that it was a Thing unknown for a Person of that high Rank and Dignity to be degraded; and alledged, that they, being all but Bishops and of equal Rank, had no Power to do it: But they were willing to give up their Brother for the Interest of the Church; for they proposed, that if his Majesty would allow them to elect another Patriarch, they would proceed upon the Degradation

dation of the Bishop who had offended him. *Peter*, who would not suffer any of his Subjects to expostulate with him, resenting this mean Evasion, obliged the aforesaid Metropolitan of *Resan* to take away the Mitre of the degraded Prelate.

As to their Marriages; the Day appointed being come, the Bride used to put on her Head a Sort of Hood, made of fine Linnen, Lawn, or Knit-work, that veiled her to the Middle, and so, with her Friends, and the Bridegroom with his, went to Church on Horseback, though the Church was never so near. They married with a Ring, and the Words of the Ceremony agreed much with ours. The Ring put on, and the Contract pronounced, the Bride's Hand was delivered into the Hand of the Bridegroom, who stood on one Side of the Altar or Table, and the Bride on the other. The Bride then came about with the Bridegroom to the End of the Table, and falling down at his Feet, knocked her Head upon his Shoe, in token of Subjection; and the Bridegroom used to cast the Skirt of his Gown over her, signifying his Duty to protect and cherish her. After this the Bride's Father and Friends bowed to the Bridegroom, and his Relations to the Bride, in token of Love between the two Kindreds. A Loaf of Bread was then broken, and the two Families eat it amongst them, to testify their true and sincere Meaning to become of one Family.

When they made Love, the Man sent Presents to the Woman, which if she accepted, the Match was agreed on; but if they were returned, it was a Sign he was disliked; and among other Presents there was sometimes a Whip, to let the Woman know what she was to expect if she proved disobedient. They used Divorce among them, and it was often practised on slender Pretences; for a Man might go into a Monastery and shave himself, in a pretended Fit of Devotion, and by such Means free himself from his Wife, and leave her to shift for herself; which was frequently occasioned by the ill Behaviour of the Women, chiefly among the common Sort. For Women of Quality always were very obedient to their Husbands.

The Burial of their Dead was performed with much Ceremony. They used to put new Shoes on them, and give them a Letter in their Hands, directed to St. *Nicholas*, intimating, that the Deceased was a *Rusi*, dying in the true Faith. When the Ground was frozen, they laid them up in their Dead-Houses; and when the Ground became fit to be dug, they buried them in their Clothes, causing Prayers to be said over them. Besides the Relations, there were other Women Mourners hired on that Occasion to make a great Howling and Noise. It was likewise the Custom for the Relations of the Deceased to visit their Graves, on particular Days in the Year, there to cry and howl for some Hours, and then leave Branches of Trees, Flowers, Bread, Meat, Brandy, Mead, Beer, and other Liquors, which they imagined the Dead had occasion for; but which were constantly taken by the Priests, as soon as they were gone.

The *Muscovites* had a great Veneration for Holy Water; and once a Year their Rivers were hallowed, with much Ceremony, by the Bishops. There was great struggling then among the People for the Water: Some would leap into it, though in the most rigorous Season of the Year; Women would dip their tender Infants all over; and oftentimes it was given to the Sick, in order to recover them by its wonderful Efficacy. They had likewise a Custom of sending Prayers in a Cap to Persons at a Distance. And many would refuse to work on a *Friday*, under a Pretence that the *Panitzza* was angry, and would punish those with Misfortunes, who did not observe this Feast in Honour of her.

In the Neighbourhood of several Monasteries, the Monks used to erect Oratories in the Highways, with Images in them, before which Passengers used to bow down, while the Brothers held forth a Box, to receive their pious Contributions. Many of the *Russians* thought it a great Crime to eat a Pigeon, because the Holy Ghost is painted in that Shape. They had a Tradition of the Monastery of *Pekersky* in *Kiow*, that whoever was buried therein, should be saved, although he died in his Sins. These, and many other superstitious Abuses, the

Czar

Czar took care to abolish when he settled the National Synod, as we shall see hereafter.

The large Dominions of *Russia* were formerly divided into four Parts, called *Chetfirds*, or *Tetrarchies*, every one containing divers Shires, and was annexed to the several Offices from whence they derived their Names. 1. The *Polsky Chetfird*, or Jurisdiction of the Office of Embassies, and foreign Affairs. 2. The *Rosersadny Chetfird*, belonging to the *Roserade* or High-Constable. 3. The *Pomeslenoy Chetfird*, appertaining to that Office where was kept a Register of the Lands given by the Prince to his *Bojars*, Gentlemen, and others. 4. The *Cassansky Deswoerts*, appropriated to the Office which had the Jurisdiction of the Kingdoms of *Astracan* and *Casan*, with the Cities and Towns lying on the *Volga*. Very few Places were exempted from the Jurisdiction of these Offices, except the Czar's Inheritance or *Vochin*, which belonged to the House of *Beala*, including 36 Towns, with their Bounds and Territories, and some other particular Royalties. These great Officers resided commonly at Court, and carried their Offices with them wherever they went. They were generally Favourites of the Czar, and acted as sovereign Princes under him, in all Provinces they were to govern. A Bench of *Diacks*, or Secretaries, sat as Judges in every one of these Courts at *Moscow*; who were to hear and determine Matters relating to the Treasury, as well as all civil and military Affairs; and to report their Proceedings to the principal Lords under whose Power they acted, from whom there was formerly no Appeal. These Lords had also the sole Power to send Governors to each Province, and every Governor had a *Diack*, or petty Chancellor, and an Office of Justice called a *Precause*, erected under him, where they sat as Commissaries for the Czar's Revenues, and as Judges to determine all Causes, without either Jury or Counsel for them. Only in Cases of Life, they were obliged to make a Representation by Letter to the Lord of the Province in *Moscow*; but that was done in such a Manner, that the Business always went as they would have it. The Commissions to these Governors were usually granted for 3 Years. They had no Salary; but when they were put into their Governments,

ments, a Present was made them of about 3 or 4000 *Roubles*, according to the Ability of the People where they were sent: Yet would these Governors commonly make themselves rich in the aforesaid 3 Years. It was remarkable all over *Russia*, among the common People, that the first Step they took in any Trial was to bribe the Judge, and that Party which bribed the highest, carried the Cause. And besides this grand Article of Bribery, the Governors had other Opportunities of enriching themselves; as the Power of assessing the Taxes, and appointing Collectors under them; and to return the Sums into the grand *Precaufe* at *Moscow*; where what account they thought fit was made out of the Money collected.

The Czar found that a more faithful Account might be made of his Revenues, and that the Oppressions of the Governors ought to have a Stop put to them. He therefore called a Grand Council of all his *Bojars*, and proposed that there should be one general Office erected at *Moscow*, called the *Rate-House*, after the Model he had seen in *Holland*, for the better collecting and managing his Revenues; and that a certain Number of reputable Men should be chosen, and be called *Burgo-Masters*, to sit daily, to appoint Officers and Clerks, and to account for his Revenues. The Land-Tax and Poll-Tax only were left to be raised by the Governors, or *Waiwodes*, as before. These Matters, though so useful, were not at all pleasing to the Council. The *Bojars* did not like to have so considerable a Branch of their Power lopp'd off: They remonstrated to his Majesty, that, as the Honour and Trust of levying his Revenues had always been lodged in the Care of the Nobility, it would be looked upon as a publick Dishonour to them to have it taken away, and put into the Hands of Boors and Slaves. They therefore proposed several other Schemes to give him Satisfaction, and begg'd at least that some Lords or Gentlemen of the best Families might be commissioned in the general Office at *Moscow*: But finding it in vain to contend, and that some of their Heads might pay for this Shew of Disobedience, they acquiesced, and the Design was put in Execution, which was pursued for some Years to great Advantage, till some of his Favourite

relapsed into oppressive Measures. His Majesty, about the same Time, gave Orders to the *Precaufe* belonging to the Monasteries, that Money should be levied on these throughout all *Russia*, they having a great Part of the best Lands and Villages belonging to them. He likewise ordered, that no Man under the Age of 50, should, for the Future, be admitted into any Monastery; wisely observing, that so many young People being shut up in Cloisters, greatly prevented the Increase of his Subjects.

In the Year 1700, a Grand Jubilee was celebrated at *Moscow*, which, by the Czar's Order, began on the 1st of *January*, and continued for a Week, with firing Guns and ringing Bells; Colours flying all Day, and Illuminations in the Streets and Houses at Night. The Czar ordered that no Person, under a severe Penalty, should thenceforth date any Writings according to the old *Russian* Way; but begin the Year on the 1st of *January*, which was before began on the 1st of *September*. The Czar would sometimes take a Map in his Hand, and shew the *Bojars* about him, that *Muscovy* was but a Part of the World, and that the Winter with them was Summer on the other Side of the Line, in order to ridicule their absurd Opinion of the Creation's being in Autumn. But such was the Ignorance of these People, that not many Years before they were going to commit the Secretary of a *Persian* Ambassador to the Flames, as a Sorcerer, for his having foretold an Eclipse of the Sun.

There had been no Schools to teach even Arithmetick before the Reign of *Peter*. The *Russians* reckoned by the Help of Beads strung in Wires, which they placed as Units, Tens, Hundreds, and Thousands, and by tossing them backwards and forwards, could multiply and divide, after a tedious Way, liable to gross Mistakes; yet this was used in all their publick Offices. But about this Time the Czar erected a large School, in which a great Number of Boys were not only taught Arithmetick, but had a Subsistence in Money. Some of the most ingenious among them were taught Mathematicks by Mr. *Fergarson*, and the two young Persons out of *Christ's* Hospital; and of these about 100, who had learned

Navigation, were sent to *England, Holland, and Italy*, to qualify themselves for the Service of the Czar's Fleet. He also employed Mr. *Fergharson* to teach Astronomy, allowing him all Kinds of Mathematical Instruments and Books, and ordered him to calculate all the visible Eclipses, and how they would appear in his Country.

One Method which the Czar took, to keep Arts and Sciences among his People, was certainly very cruel; and that was to confine the Professors of them in his Country, by denying them Passports, and by keeping them out of great Part of the Stipends which were agreed to be given them. Captain *Perry*, who had suffered thus, set forth his Case at large in a Memorial, which he delivered to the Lord *Apraxin*, when he had been about 12 Years in the Country. He complained of being long kept, not only out of the Rewards that were promised him upon the performing such and such Contracts, but even the 300*l* Sterling *per Annum* Salary, which he had agreed for; that when it was paid, very unreasonable Deductions had been made, and that he had been hindered by the Czar's Ministers from proceeding in his Works. Probably their superstitious Aversion to altering the Course of Rivers, which has been already mentioned, (Captain *Perry* being chiefly employed in Undertakings of that Nature) might contribute to the latter Part of this Complaint. But however that might be, Captain *Perry* was at last obliged to come away without his Money, by putting himself under the Protection of Mr. *Whitworth* the *English* Ambassador. This Rigour would be without Excuse, unless we consider that the Czar practised it for the Improvement of his Country, which he had more at Heart than any other Consideration.

The Case of Mr. *Fergharson* was likewise very hard. An Agreement was made with him, that he should have his Charges defrayed to *Moscow*, and a handsome Allowance for his Subsistence when there, until he had learned the Language of the Country: And that then, as often as ever he should instruct any Scholar, particularly in the Art of Navigation, he should have the Reward of 100 *Roubles*, in ready Money, given him; but

but though he had, when Captain *Perry* came away, made perfect and discharged above 70 Scholars, yet he had not received one Penny of the said Money. The two Mathematicians taken from *Christ's* Hospital, to assist Mr. *Fergharson*, were also very unfortunate. One of them was attacked by a Company of Rogues, as he rode out from the School, and murdered in the Streets. Mr. *Fergharson*, another Time, very narrowly escaped the same Fate: And Mr. *Guin*, the other Assistant, had not above half the Allowance given him *per Annum*, that was allowed to Mr. *Fergharson* for his bare Subsistence.

If we may give credit to the Account given by one, who styles himself an *Italian* * Officer of Distinction, this Sort of Cruelty is, in some Measure, still exercised in *Russia*: But we have a very late Instance to contradict what this *Italian* says; that is, the Leave given, by Her present Imperial Majesty of *Russia*, to Mr. *Voy*, one of the Ship-builders who went over in King *William's* Reign, to return to his Native Country, where he arrived in the Year 1737, and is settled at *Portsmouth*, with a very handsome Pension, given to him for Life by that generous Prince.

C H A P. IV.

Siege and Battle of Narva. The Muscovites shaven, by the Czar's Order. Regulations in the Dress, and several Customs of the Muscovites. Interview between the Czar and King Augustus. Battle of Cliflaw. Rumour of the King of Sweden's Death, of Service to Augustus.

IT was on the first of *October*, 1700, that the Czar sat down before *Narva*, with an Army of 100,000 Men, in hopes, by taking this Town, to open a Passage to the *Baltick*. *Peter*, who would make nothing in these cold Climates of riding Post 100 Leagues in the midst

* Letters from *Muscovy*, printed in 1725.

of Winter, to see a Mine or a Canal, was willing his Troops should forget all Distinctions of Seasons, as he seemed to do himself. In this Army, commanded by the Duke de Croy, a German, and in which his Majesty himself acted as a common Lieutenant, there were only 30,000 Men, who were the *Soldates*, formed out of the old *Strelitzes* and *Germans*, that were worth any thing: The rest were a rude Multitude drawn from the Forests and Wilds, covered with Skins, and armed with Clubs and Arrows; but few of whom understood the Use of Fire Arms, or had ever seen a Battle, or regular Siege.

The King of Sweden was the more enraged at this Procedure, as there were still 3 *Muscovite* Ambassadors at *Stockholm*, treating of Peace. This young Hero, who had already reduced the King of Denmark to sue for Peace, crossed the Sea with 200 Transports, and landed at *Pernau* in the Gulf of *Riga*. The King of Poland, the Czar's Ally, was at that Time besieging *Riga*; but as soon as he heard of Charles's landing, he abandoned the Place, and made a Merit of it to the States-General, who had desired him, by their Ambassadors, to spare a Place where the Dutch had considerable Effects. *Riga* being now opened, the King of Sweden marched directly to *Narva*, with about 4000 Horse, and the like Number of Foot. The Czar was gone in Person to hasten the March of 40,000 Recruits from *Pleskow*, designing to have hem'd the King of Sweden in, between these and his great Army. He had ordered 30,000 Men from before *Narva* to be posted at a League Distance from the Town, in the Rout of the King of Sweden; 20,000 more were placed farther off upon the same Rout, and 5000 more made up an advanced Guard, through all which Troops Charles was to force his Way before he could arrive at the fortified Camp. This King continued his March, through Ways that were thought impassable, till he found himself in Sight of the Enemy's first Posts. He did not give them Time to know the Number of his Men, but attacked their Posts one after another. They could not imagine but the whole Swedish Army was coming upon them, so the advanced Guard fled immediately upon his Approach. The next 20,000 fled likewise, in Confusion,
among

among the 30,000, who retired in the greatest Consternation to the main Body of the Army. Charles lost no Time, but with his Men, fatigued as they were, appeared before the whole Camp of the *Muscovites*. The Duke de Croy had made the best Dispositions that were possible, posting the Infantry in the Intrenchments, with a second Line to strengthen them, and the Cavalry to support them behind. He had scarce done this, before the King attack'd them with 8 Battalions, having General *Rebinder*, an Officer of great Experience and Valour, at their Head.

This was on the 30th of November, 1700. As soon as the Swedish Cannon had made a Breach in the Intrenchments, they advanced with their Bayonets at the End of their Pikes, assisted by a violent Snow which drove full in the Faces of the *Muscovites*, who endured Slaughter for half an Hour without quitting their Posts. Charles himself attacked the Czar's Quarters, which lay on the right Side of the Camp, where he hoped to have encountered him in Person, not knowing that he was gone to *Pleskow*. Upon the first Discharge of the *Muscovite* Shot, the King received a Ball in his left Shoulder, which grazed slightly upon the Flesh; but his Activity prevented his feeling that he was wounded. His Horse was immediately after shot under him: He mounted a second, which had his Head taken off; but in less than three Hours, he carried the Intrenchments on all Sides. The *Muscovites*, not animated, as the Swedes were, by the Presence of their Prince, gave way in great Confusion: The King, with the left Wing, pursued near 50,000 of them as far as the River *Narva*, where the Bridge breaking under them, the River was immediately covered with the Dead. The Horse made off in tolerable good Order towards *Pleskow*, and, meeting the Czar some Leagues on this Side the City, gave him an Account of the Defeat of his Army. Above 20,000 *Muscovites* were slain, and between 2 or 3000 of the Swedes, among whom were the Generals *Rebinder* and *Rubbingen*. The rest of the *Russians*, in Despair, with their Generals de Croy, *Dolkoruky*, *Gollowin*, and *Federowitz*, surrendered themselves to the young Conqueror, and laid their Arms at his Feet. The Number
of

of Prisoners was so very great, that it was thought proper to keep only the chief Officers, and dismiss the rest, who were entirely disarmed, and having their Breeches slit, that they were forced to hold them with both Hands, they were drove along like a Flock of Sheep, to the Distance of a League from *Narva*.

This is one of the most extraordinary Actions that can be met with in History; and the King of *Sweden*, this Year, tho' but 18 Years of Age, led an Army himself against 3 confederated Monarchs, and not only proved successful in all his Attempts, but gave wonderful Proofs of his personal Courage and Conduct. The Czar, thinking it would be to little Purpose, with his 40,000 undisciplined Men, to engage a young Victor just fresh'd with the Conquest of 100,000, retired to the Place from whence he came, and from thence went back to *Moscow*, which was terribly alarmed at the News of this Battle. But Peter was so far from being dispirited at it, that he often would say, *I expected to be beaten by the Swedes, and may again; but they, in Time, will teach us to beat them.*

The *Muscovite* Populace imagining that their being beaten, when they had such Odds on their Side, was owing to Witchcraft, put up a Prayer to St. *Nicholas*, to protect them against the horrid Crew of Sorcerers, that were leagued against them. Mean while the Czar, having lost half his Army, and all his Artillery, applied himself with great Diligence to repair these Losses, by raising Recruits, bringing more foreign Officers into his Service, and seeing his Regiments exercised and provided with all Things necessary. For want of Metal for his Artillery, he ordered the great Bells in several Churches to be taken down, and cast into Cannon: But while he was making these Preparations, he wrote an Answer to a Letter which he had received from the King of *Great-Britain*, and to another from the States of *Holland*, to dissuade him from entering upon a War with *Sweden* at all.

His *Britannic* Majesty in his Letter, had reminded the Czar of the Care he had taken of his Interests at the Treaty of *Carlowitz*, in order to give his pacific Proposal the greater Force. The Czar very obligingly acknowledged

his Friendship, and professed his own Inclinations for coming to a Peace. And in answer to the *Dutch*, who had offered themselves for Mediators between him and the King of *Sweden* in the present Quarrel (the chief Subject of which was the Affront the Czar had received in *Livonia*, when he set out on his Travels) he concludes with the following Passage: "According to our antient Amity, We cannot refuse your High Mightinesses Demand, and We wish, that, by your Mediation, a happy Peace may be re-established with the Crown of *Sweden*, to which Effect We shall with Impatience expect your Ambassadors."

Notwithstanding the Impatience with which he expected these Ambassadors of Peace, he lost no Time in making Provisions for the War; and while these were getting ready, he continued with great Vigilance the Reformation of his People and Government.

The *Russians* had a great Veneration for long Beards, which they wore hanging on their Bosoms comb'd out with great Pride, and kept very smooth. The Hair on their upper Lips grew so long, that it would dip in the Cup whenever they drank; so that they were often obliged to wipe them. They valued their Beards the more, because in that they differed from Strangers, whom they generally hated. But the Czar laid a Tax of 100 *Roubles per Annum*, on all Gentlemen who wore Beards, except the Priests. The common People were to pay a Copeck at the Gate of every Town they entered, and Persons were there placed to collect it. Such was their Regard however, for what they foolishly thought an Ornament to their Faces, that when the Czar found he could not overcome their Prejudice without using Force, they would offer large Bribes to those who came to execute his Orders. It must have been a diverting Scene to behold the Executioners scampering after these venerable Grey-Beards in the Streets, who fled from them as from so many Hangmen. His Majesty would order Persons to be shaved at his own Table; and sometimes so roughly, that some of the Skin of the most Obstinate was taken away with the Beard. The Fear of being thus handled, made abundance comply, many of whom laid their Beards up carefully to be buried with them, that they

they might be able to give St. *Nicholas* an Account of them in the other World. This shaving their Beards was looked upon in the Czar as a great Breach of Religion. Libels were wrote against him on this Account, and dropp'd about the Streets of *Moscow*, charging him with Tyranny and Atheism.

His Majesty resolv'd next to alter the Fashion of his People's Dress, which he thought troublesome to the Men, and ridiculous in the Women. An Order was published, to prohibit all *Russians* to appear out of their Houses, but in a Coat of the *Polish* Fashion, which was much the same with the *French* and *English*. The Servants of Strangers were the first on whom this Order was executed, who, upon Disobedience, were made to pay a Fine, or sent to Prison: But this not affecting the common People, they took no notice of it, till severer Means were used with them. Their former Habit was a long Vest, reaching down almost to their Feet, and plaited on the Hips like a Woman's Peticoat. His Majesty oblig'd all his *Bojars*, and whoever should come to Court, to provide themselves with *English* Dresses, and such as could afford it were to trim them with Gold or Silver. He commanded a Pattern of the *English* Coat to be hung up at the Gates of *Moscow*, and that every Body should conform to it in making their Clothes; and if any one should presume to disobey his Orders, except the Peasants who brought Provisions to the Markets, they should be oblig'd to pay two *Grevens*, (about twenty Pence *English*) or kneel down at the Gates, and have all that Part of their Clothes cut off which then lay on the Ground.

The Women, and especially the Court Ladies, were order'd to reform their Dress likewise according to the *English* Fashion. They had some Things in the ancient Habits very odd, particularly Shift Sleeves 4 or 5 Ells in Length, which, when they saluted a Stranger, they used to fling out almost cross a Room, and when the Stranger had taken the End up and kiss'd it, they used to gather it again about their Arms. Another Alteration which the Czar made in Favour of the Women, the more easily reconcil'd them to that of their Dress. It had been the Custom, at all Entertainments in *Russia*, for the

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Women not to be admitted into the Conversation of the Men. In all the Houses of Gentlemen of Fashion, there was a particular Entrance made for the Women, and they were always kept in separate Apartments: Only when the Master of the Family had a Mind to do honour to an extraordinary Guest, he would bring his Wife by a back Way from her Apartment, attended by her Maids. She was then to pay the Compliment of her Shift Sleeve, and present the Company with a Bumper of Brandy round; and afterwards to retire by the same Way she came, and be seen no more. But the Czar, to shew his Gallantry, order'd that from henceforth, at all Weddings and publick Entertainments, the Women as well as the Men should be invited, and entertain'd in the same Room with the Men; but they were to appear in *English* Dresses. He order'd, that the Evenings at these Entertainments should conclude with Musick and Dancing. There was no Wedding of any Distinction, especially among the Foreigners, but the Czar would honour it with his Presence, usually making a Present to the Bride suitable to the extraordinary Expence.

It had been the Custom in *Russia* for Matches to be made up by the Parents of each Side, without the Consent of the young People, or their hardly seeing one another. This unacceptable Way of joining young People together, was in a great Measure the Occasion of that Discord which was shewn to another afterwards; it being a common Thing for the Men to beat their Wives in so barbarous a Manner, that they often died of the Blows; and none of them suffered for the Murder, it being interpreted in the Law there, as done only for Correction. The Wives, on the other Hand, being thus many Times made desperate, would murder their Husbands, in revenge for their ill Usage: But the Sentence on such Occasions was, that the Woman should be buried alive, standing upright, with the Earth fill'd about her, and only her Head above Ground, with a Watch set over her, to see that no one relieved her, but that she should be starv'd to Death. It was a very common Sight in *Russia* to see Women thus executed, who have been 7 or 8 Days in dying. These sad Spectacles made the Czar, in Pity to his People, do all that was possible

sible to remove the Occasion of. He ordered, that no young Couple should marry, for the future, without their Consent; and that all Persons should be admitted, at least 6 Weeks before Marriage, to visit and see one another. This new Order was so very agreeable, especially to the younger Sort, that they began to conceive much better of Foreigners, from whom the Czar learned these Customs.

His Majesty took notice, in answer to those who disliked these Alterations, that the Customs of the Country had already been much improved in the Course of Time, and that there was no more ill in doing it at once, than in the Course of 500 Years. As a Proof of this, in the Year 1701, when one of his Jesters was to be married to a very pretty Woman, he ordered all that were in his Favour, with several Foreigners, to be invited to the Wedding; and that every Person should provide themselves with the same Habit that was worn in *Russia* about 200 Years before, and the whole Ceremony be performed after the Manner of that Time. The *Bojars* had a Cap on their Heads at least a Foot higher than was then the Fashion, and were in an awkward gaudy Dress, not easy to describe. Some of them, of the first Rank, had for the Reins of their Bridles a Silver Chain, the Links of which were an Inch and a half or two Inches broad, made of thin Silver beat out flat; and the Breast-Plate and Crupper were dress'd with little square Pieces of the same thin Silver, which struck against each other as they rode, and made a Kind of Jingling like Bells. Among these was his Majesty in the same Habit, one of the old *Bojars* being appointed to represent him for the Day, in a mock Dress. Persons of a meaner Rank, who could not have their Horses Furniture adorned with Silver, used Tin. The Women, who were invited to this Wedding, were dressed also after the old *Russian* Fashion: Their Shift Sleeves were at least 12 Yards long, contracted into a Ruff, as much as would lie between their Shoulders and their Wrists, with their upper Vestment only covering their Bodies, and the Heels of their Shoes or Slippers near 5 Inches high. They rode in Machines set only upon Axletrees and Wheels, without any Swing to make them

them easy, and there were short Ladders ty'd on the Side of each Waggon, like those of the present *Tartars*, to get up. The Waggons were hooped over at one End, where the Women sat covered with red Cloth.

There were several Tables spread in a large Hall, according to the Degrees of the Guests, and at the upper End there was one Table placed upon a Throne about 3 Feet higher than the rest, at which sat the mock Czar with a mock Patriarch, to whom the Company advanced by gradual Steps, and bowed their Heads to the Ground at several proper Distances as they advanced; and then, being called by their Names, every one kiss'd, first the mock Czar's Hand, and then the mock Patriarch's; upon which a Dram of Brandy was presented to each Man, both by the Czar and the Patriarch. This last Name, after he abolished the Office, he always gave to a Buffoon, who, instead of the patriarchal Cross, was obliged to wear the Figure of a Gibbet on his Breast. When the Company had received their Cups of Brandy, they retired backward from the Throne to about 20 Feet distance, and all the Way made their Bows as they went back: And a splendid Entertainment was prepared for them after the old-fashion Way.

It had been a Custom among all the great *Bojars*, to retain a great Number of superfluous Servants, who, when they went abroad, walked some bare-headed before them, and others followed in a long Train, in all Sorts of Dresses and Colours. When the *Bojars* rode on Horseback, or in their Coaches or Sledges, even in the most Severity of the Winter, it was thought the more stately to go a slow Pace, that these Attendants might keep up with them on Foot. The great Ladies were wont to have the same numerous Retinues. But the Czar always rode swift himself, with a few Servants on Horseback, clothed in an uniform Livery; and ordered the *Bojars*, and all other Persons of Distinction, to do the same. That these Orders might be the more efficacious, he had a List taken of all the loose Attendants that hung about the *Bojars* Houses, and commanded them to be sent to the Army. This went much against the Grain, and great Intercessions were made, especially for such of

them as were really Gentlemen : But the Czar's Orders were to be obeyed, and a Draught was made of several thousand of these supernumerary Attendants.

In order the better to concert Measures for the ensuing Campaign, an Interview was agreed upon between the Czar and his Ally *Augustus*, which was held at *Birsen*, a small Town in *Lithuania*. They remained here 15 Days together, and spent a great Part of the Time in that Excess of Drinking, which is the common Vice of the *Muscovites*, and was one of the greatest Failings in the Czar *Peter*. At this Interview King *Augustus* promised the Czar 50,000 German Troops, which he undertook to hire of the Princes of the Empire. The Czar was to pay them, and to send a like Number of *Muscovites* into *Poland*, to be trained up in military Discipline. He was also, in two Years Time, to supply King *Augustus* with three Millions of Rix-Dollars.

When the King of *Sweden* was informed of these Designs, he hastened into *Livonia*, and arrived at *Riga*, over against the Saxon Army, who lay encamped on the other Side the *Duna*, and with whom he was to dispute the Passage. He caused Boats to be made after an Invention of his own, the Sides of which were moveable, and made to cover the Troops in their Passage, and favour their Descent when they came to land. Having likewise observed that the Wind blew favourably, he set fire to a large Heap of wet Straw, the Smoke of which spreading cross the River, prevented the Enemy from seeing his Troops.

The King of *Poland* being ill in Bed, Marshal *Stenau*, who commanded the Saxon Army with the Duke of *Courland*, fell upon the Swedish Battalions with his Horse, before they were quite drawn up, and drove them into the River: But being soon rallied by the King, they advanced with such Fury against the Marshal, that they obliged him likewise to retreat. The Duke of *Courland* made his Troops retire very dexterously into a dry Place, flanked with a Morass and Wood, where his Artillery lay. The Saxons, by this Advantage of Ground, began to recover their Courage; but after an obstinate and bloody Battle, the King of *Sweden* having 15,000 Men, and the Duke of *Courland* but

but 12,000, *Charles* obtained a complete Victory. It was with much Difficulty that the Duke was carried off, all over Bruises and half dead. The King of *Sweden*, upon this Victory, hastened to *Mittaw*, and took that City, the Capital of *Courland*: All the other Towns in that Dutchy yielding to him at Discretion. He passed on with Expedition to *Lithuania*, conquering wherever he came. At *Birsen*, where the Czar and the King of *Poland* had met to contrive his Ruin, he first formed the Scheme of dethroning *Augustus*.

The King of *Poland* was compelled to hold a Diet at *Warsaw*, on the 22d of *December*, 1701, in which his Subjects taking Advantage of his Misfortunes, openly opposed him, under Pretence of the publick Good. The chief Men of this Country, proud of their Freedom, may be said to be Tyrants over their King, whom they chuse rather to increase than restrain their own Authority. And that Prince's Conduct had lost him many of his Friends, and greatly exasperated his Enemies. Some of the Palatinates indeed made him believe, that he might arm the *Polish* Nobility against the *Swedes*: But he soon found that he had very little Authority in the Diet, most of the Members making no Scruple to own themselves in the King of *Sweden*'s Interest. They charged *Augustus* with being the Author of all the Ills that had befallen the State, and talked of sending an Embassy, in the Name of the Republick, to the King of *Sweden*; but before this Point was carried, the Diet broke up, by the Retreat of one of the Deputies.

Augustus, in these Straits, called together a Council of the Senate; the Members of which, tho' somewhat better Courtiers than those of the Diet, under a Pretence of reconciling his Interest with the Security of the Republick, gave his Authority a yet deeper Wound than the other had done. They concluded to send the Embassy debated upon in the Diet: But *Augustus* resolved to be before-hand with them in this, and chose rather to receive Laws from his Conqueror than his Subjects. He made choice of the Countess of *Koningsmar*, a Swedish Lady by Birth, and who had an Estate in *Charles*'s Dominions, to be his Ambassador. Her Wit and Beauty

made the King of Poland imagine, that the young Victor would be able to deny her nothing, but be as much subdued by her Charms as he had been himself. Having received her Instructions, she went to the *Swedish* Camp in *Lithuania*; but *Charles* obstinately refused to see her. *Augustus* afterwards sent his Chamberlain *Wiczdum*, with fresh Instructions; but they having neglected to demand a Passport for him, he was seized and thrown into Prison.

The King of Poland was now forced again to have recourse to the Senate. He offered to call in 12,000 Saxons, to put himself at the Head of the Army of the Republick, and pay them two Quarters before-hand out of his own Privy Purse. The Senate answered him, that the Republick would send an Embassy to the King of Sweden, to procure Peace; and as for the Saxons, his Majesty could not introduce them into Poland without disobliging the whole Nation. *Charles* treated the Embassy of the Republick with no more Respect than that of the King; for such was the implacable Temper of this young Hero, that having once taken a Dislike to *Augustus*, he was never to be brought to hear any Terms concerning him. He answered the Senate, That they should know what he thought of their Proposal when he came to *Warsaw*: And set forward the same Day for that City, having sent before him a Manifesto, in which he declared himself the Protector of the Republick. The Senators published this Manifesto in the View of *Augustus*; and, upon the Approach of the King of Sweden, none remained with that Monarch, but the Ambassadors of the Emperor and the Czar, the Pope's Nuncio, and some few Bishops and Palatines, who were attached to his Fortune. Being thus deserted by his Subjects, and driven from *Warsaw*, he brought 20,000 Saxons into the Country: And the King of Sweden, on his Part, prepared to give his Enemy a warm Reception. He let the Cardinal Primate into his Intentions at *Warsaw*, who was a secret Enemy of *Augustus*: A Man full of Artifice and Reserve; entirely governed by an ambitious Woman, whom the Swedes called *Madam Cardinal*. The Primate's Talent lay chiefly in making his Advantage of the Conjectures which fell in his Way,

Way, without endeavouring himself to bring them about. He would appear unresolved when the most determined in his Projects; going always to gain his Ends by those Ways, which seemed the most to oppose them. He tried all his Interest on the Death of *John Sobieski*, the Author of all his Fortunes, to place *James* on the Throne; but the Torrent of the People's Hatred ran so strong against the Father, as great a Man as he was, that it bore down the Son. The Victories of *Charles XII.* the Protector of Prince *James*, the Civil War in *Lithuania*, and the general Dissension of the Poles to King *Augustus*, now gave the Cardinal Hopes that the Time was come when he might be able to send *Augustus* back into Saxony, and pave a Way for the Son of King *John* to ascend the Throne. This Prince, formerly the innocent Object of the Poles Hatred, was, since *Augustus* had disowned them, become their Idol: But he durst not conceive any Hopes of so great a Revolution. Nevertheless one Cardinal, infernally, had laid the Foundation of it. He seemed at first to endeavour to reconcile the King and the Republick. He sent his circular Letter, dictated, in Appearance, by that Spirit of Concord and Charity, which, tho' usual and known Snares, seldom fail to entrap. He wrote a moving Letter to the King of Sweden, beseeching him in that Name which all Christians equally adore, to give Peace to Poland and her King. *Charles* answered more to the Intentions of the Cardinal than to his Words. These Letters and Answers were for the Publick; but the Emisseries that continually went between the Cardinal and Count *Piper*, and the private Assemblies at the Cardinal's House, were the Springs by which the Diet moved.

The ill Fortune of *Augustus* had already made him do what the Diet would have exacted from him: The League secretly concluded between him and the Czar at *Byen*, was become as useless as at first it was thought formidable. He was far from being able to send the Czar the 50,000 Men he had promised: And the Czar was under no Concern to assist a divided Kingdom, but contented himself with sending about 20,000 Men into *Lithuania*. While the Saxons were coming in Troops, and *Augustus* himself going from one Palatinate to another,

ther, to get together the Nobility that adhered to him the King of Sweden arrived on the 5th of May, 1702, at *Warsaw*. The Gates were opened to him upon the first Summons. King *Augustus* was at that Time assembling his Forces at *Cracow*, and could not but be surprised to see the Cardinal Primate one of the Company. This Man, whose Heart burnt within him to finish the Work he had begun, was willing to keep up the Decency of his Character, and to dethrone his King with all the respectful Behaviour of a good Subject. He told him that the King of Sweden appeared to be disposed to a reasonable Accommodation, and humbly begged leave that he might attend him. King *Augustus* granted him what he could not refuse, the Liberty of doing him a Mischief. The Cardinal saw *Charles* for the first Time at *Praag*, not far from *Warsaw*, but without Ceremony. The King advanced some Steps to meet him, and they had a Conference together of about a Quarter of an Hour; which *Charles* put an End to, by saying aloud, *I will never give the Poles Peace, till they have elected another King*. The Cardinal, who waited for this Declaration, immediately gave notice of it to all the Palatinates, assuring them, that he was extremely concerned at it, but laying before them the Necessity of complying with the Conqueror:

The King of *Poland* now saw plainly, that he must either lose his Crown, or preserve it by a Battle. His *Saxon* Troops were all arrived from the Frontiers of his Electorate, and the Nobility of the Palatinate of *Cracow*, where he yet remained, came in a Body to offer him their Services. On the 19th of July, 1702, the two Kings met, in a large Plain near *Cliffau*, between *Warsaw* and *Cracow*. *Augustus* had near 24,000 Men, and *Charles* not above half that Number. The Battle began with playing the Artillery. Upon the first Volley, which was discharged by the Saxons, the Duke of *Holstein*, Brother-in-Law to *Charles*, and a Prince of great Virtue, received a Cannon Ball in the Reins. The King of *Poland* behaved like a Prince that was fighting for his Crown: He led his Troops up thrice to the Charge in Person. But Fortune was on *Charles's* Side, who obtained a complete Victory. The Camp, Colours, Ar-

Artillery, and *Augustus's* War Chest, were all left to him, and he himself fled before the Victor to *Cracow*, where the Citizens shut their Gates against the Conqueror. He caused them to be burst open; took the Castle by Assault; and made them pay sufficiently for their Rashness, by laying them under a heavy Contribution.

The King of Sweden left *Cracow*, with a full Resolution of pursuing *Augustus*: But an Accident happened, which had like to have given a new Turn to Affairs. As he was marching from *Cracow*, his Horse falling under him, broke his Thigh, which confined him to his Bed for six Weeks: Upon which a Rumour was spread all over Europe, that he was trampled to Death under his Horse's Feet. This Piece of false Intelligence, for a while, gave new Spirits to the Followers of King *Augustus*, and threw his Enemies into Despair. He took Advantage of the Occasion, and assembled all the Orders of the Kingdom at *Marienburg*, and then at *Lublin*. There were but few of the Palatinates which did not send their Deputies, and what with his Presence, his Promises, and his courteous Behaviour, he regained the Affections of almost all of them. The Diet was soon undeceived concerning the Report of the King of Sweden's Death, but they had before been determined to swear Fealty to their King; the honest Cardinal among the rest. They agreed to maintain 50,000 Men for his Service, at their own Expence, and were to give the Swedes six Weeks Time, to declare whether they intended War or Peace.

C H A P. V.

Defeat of the Swedes in Livonia. The Czar takes Notebourg and Marienbourg. Birth and Rise of the Empress Catharine. The Czar enters Moscow in Triumph. Builds Petersburg. Augustus King of Poland deposed. The Czar takes Narva. Builds Cronslot. Battle of Gemaurthoff. The Czar enters Poland. The Swedes Attempt on Petersburg and Cronslot in vain. The Czar subdues Courland, and Lithuania.

CHARLES, now recovered of his Wound, called together an Assembly at *Warsaw*, to oppose that of *Lublin*. He continued so firm in his Resolution of dethroning *Augustus*, that he said, *If he stay'd 50 Years, he would not leave Poland till he had accomplished it.* His Generals, at the same Time, represented to him the Mischief the *Muscovite* Troops were doing in *Lithuania*, *Eschonia*, and *Ingria*, where they daily engaged with his, and oftentimes with Disadvantage to the *Swedes*. The Velt-Marshal *Czeremieteff* first entered *Lithuania* in the Month of *July*, 1702, with a numerous Army, and advanced as far as *Engelnet*. General *Schlippenbach*, as soon as he had Intelligence of this, detached a Party of 300 Horse, to observe their Motions; which meeting with a Body of 1000 *Muscovites*, attacked and drove them to the main Body of the Army: But being surpris'd at their Enemies Numbers, the *Swedish* Cavalry retreated in Confusion, and were pursued by the *Muscovites*, losing several of their Men. General *Schlippenbach*, upon this, rode himself to reconnoitre the Enemy, and perceiving they had a Design to environ his small Body, he judg'd it convenient to cross the River *Embeck*, which was done in View of the Enemy, over two Bridges that were immediately after broke down: But the River being then very low, and the *Muscovite* General making Use of pontoons to waft over his Artillery, he soon forc'd the *Swedes* to a Battle. The Advantage was at first on the Side of the latter,

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some of the *Muscovites* having thrown themselves into the River: But the rest facing about on a sudden, put the *Finland* Cavalry into such Disorder, that they fell foul upon their own Infantry, and betook themselves to Flight; so that the *Swedes* lost their Artillery, and had their Infantry, after a stout Resistance, almost all cut to Pieces. This Action began at six in the Morning, and lasted ten Hours. The *Swedish* General finding it impossible to stand his Ground, was forced to retreat to *Pernau*; having lost 7 Captains, 30 Lieutenants and Ensigns, 25 Subalterns, 37 Drums, and 1916 common Men. The Loss was likewise great on the Side of the *Russians*, but amidst their Numbers was hardly perceptible.

His Czarish Majesty himself, when he had made all necessary Dispositions in the frontier Places, march'd at the Head of his Army, and took the Fortress of *Orescheck*, or * *Notebourg*, the Capital City of *Ingermania*, situate upon an Island, a little below where the *Neva* runs out of the Lake *Ladoga*. This had been taken from the *Russians* by *Gustavus Adolphus* in the Year 1614, tho' strongly fortified by Nature. The Czar afterwards gave it the Name of *Stutembourg*; *Slytel* in German signifying a *Key*, and indeed it proved such to his Majesty in his Conquests over the *Swedes*.

About this Time the Czar published an Edict to encourage all Sorts of Artificers, Workmen, and Manufacturers, and other Persons professing Trades and Sciences, to come and settle in his Dominions; promising, That as soon as they were arriv'd upon the Frontiers, they should be conducted, at his Majesty's Expence, where they should deem it most convenient to settle: That they should have the free Exercise of their Religion: That they should employ themselves in whatsoever they thought most for their Advantage, without being subject to any Duties or Offices: That those who should find themselves capable to undertake any Trade, and had not wherewithal to follow it, should be supplied with Money out of the Treasury, without any Interest. And that such as were unwilling to stay in his Dominions, should have Li-

* This Town was built above 400 Years ago, by a Prince of *Novogorod*, named *Marja*.

cences to depart. But how much these Promises were to be relied on, we have already shewn in the Cases of Captain *Perry*, Mr. *Fergarson*, and others.

His Czarish Majesty's Forces, under Lieutenant General *Baur*, next made themselves Masters of *Mariembourg*, which was but meanly defended by a few *Swedish* Troops, and of itself no very strong Place. Among the Prisoners taken in this Town, was *Catharine*, who afterwards became Empress of *Russia*; of whose Birth and Rise *M. de la Motraye* gives a very curious Account, which I here insert from the 3d Volume of his Travels.

"The general Voice of the Country says, it was on the Banks of the Lake *Worthy*, in a Village called *Rungben*, that the Heroine drew her first Breath, and not in the Neighbourhood of *Dorpt*, as those who have wrote her Life, in divers Languages, would make us believe. These Writers, to make her Life more illustrious, have some of them given her for her Father a Lieutenant Colonel of the Family of *Abendiel*, others Colonel *Rosen*: But the common Report is, that she was a Vassal of this Colonel, who, dying when she was but four or five Years of Age, as her Mother did soon after, there was nothing left for her Subsistence; for it is rare that the Vassals of the *Livonian* and *Russian* Nobility leave any Thing to their Children. The Parish Clerk, who kept a School, took her as his own, till Doctor *Gluck*, Minister of *Mariembourg*, happening to come to that Village, liked the Girl; and being willing to ease the Clerk, whose Income was very small, carried her home with him. Our Writers agree pretty well as to this Circumstance, which is suitable to that of a Vassal, such as her Father was; but not of a Lord of the Manor, as they would make him: For is it natural to suppose, that, if she had been the Daughter of *M. Rosen*, or was acknowledged by him as such, he would have left her nothing in his Will when he died? or, that his Heirs and Relations, if he had married her Mother, would have taken no Manner of Care of her? Is it not better, and more agreeable to Truth, to let *Catharine* owe her Greatness to her own Merit, and to the Czar *Peter* the First? The Meaner her Birth is, the more glorious and honourable is her Elevation.

M. Gluck

M. Gluck treated her almost in the same Manner that he would one of his Daughters, and his Wife, finding her endued with good and virtuous Inclinations, loved her as much. As she seemed naturally to hate Idleness, she was employed in Works suitable to her Age, as Spinning, Sewing, &c. She did every Thing well that she undertook, and many Things in the House of her own Accord, which could only be expected from the very best Servants. She had learnt to read of the Parish-Clerk at *Rungben*. When she left that Place, she spoke only the Language of the Country, which is a *Sclavonian* Dialect: But at *M. Gluck's* she learnt the *German* Tongue to Perfection, of which she knew only a few Words before, and employed all her vacant Hours in reading. A *Livonian* Serjeant in the *Swedish* Army fell passionately in Love with her; and she liked him so well, that she agreed to have him, if he would ask the Consent of *M. Gluck*, without which she would do nothing. He followed her Advice, and *M. Gluck*, who was not very easy in his Circumstances, gave his Consent more readily than otherwise he would have done. This Serjeant was of a pretty good Family, had a small Estate of his own, and was in a fair Way to Preferment, being already known to be a Man of Bravery and Sobriety. It is reported as a certain Truth through all *Livonia*, that *M. Gluck* perform'd the Marriage Ceremony himself. The next Day the *Muscovites* taking the Town of *Mariembourg*, the commanding Officer, General *Baur*, perceiving *Catharine* among the Prisoners, and observing, notwithstanding the Tears that fell from her Eyes, a certain *Je ne scai quoi* in her Face, that struck him very much, he asked her several Questions concerning her Condition, to which she made answers with more Sense than is usual in Persons of her Rank. He bade her fear nothing, for he would take care to see that she was well used: Accordingly he that Instant ordered some of his People to conduct her to the Place where his Baggage was. There were some Women who washed his Linnen, and did other Works agreeable to that Sex: And finding her afterwards very proper to manage his Household Affairs, he gave her a Sort of Authority and Inspection over these Women, and the rest of his Domesticks, by whom she

was very much beloved from her Manner of using them, when she instructed them in their Duty: And the General had said himself, he never was so well served as when she was with him. It happened that Prince *Menzikoff*, who was his Patron, having seen her one Day, observed something very extraordinary in her Air and Behaviour; and for that Reason asked him, Who she was, and in what Condition she served him? The General told him what has been before related, and, at the same Time, took care to do Justice to the Merit of *Catharine*. The Prince said he was very ill served, and had Occasion for such a Person about him. General *Baur* replied, that he was too much obliged to his Highness to have it in his Power to refuse him any Thing he had a Mind to. He immediately called *Catharine*, and told her, 'That was Prince *Menzikoff*, who had Occasion for a Servant like herself; that he was able to be a better Friend to her than himself; and that he had too much Kindness for her to prevent her receiving such a Piece of Honour and good Fortune. She answered only with a profound Courtesy, which shewed, if not her Consent, that it was not then in her Power to refuse the Offer that was made her. In short, Prince *Menzikoff* took her with him, or she went to him, the same Day. He kept her in his Service till the Year 1703 or 1704, when the Czar saw her one Day as he was at Dinner with him, and spoke to her. She made a yet stronger Impression on that Monarch, who would likewise have her to be his Servant.

It is very uncertain what became of her young Husband, as well as the Character and Post he had in the Swedish Army, from the different Accounts that we have of him. One, for Example, printed at *Jena*, a small Town and University of *Thuringen* in 1724, tells us, that he was a Cadet; that, after he was married at *Mariembourg* in 1702, the Muscovites attacking that Town, he gave such signal Proofs of his Bravery, that he was made a Lieutenant Colonel, and some have thought that if every one had shewn as much Courage as he, they could never have taken it. If this be true, which *Motraye* says he heard nothing of in the Country, he had,

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besides the Preservation of the Town, a particular Interest which his Companions had not, the Liberty of a beloved Wife; and it is well known, what Love is capable of undertaking. But this Account says nothing of what became of him after his Advancement, or whether he made any Attempt to recover his dear Spouse. Some will have it, that he was only a Corporal; others, a Dragoon; and add, that the Marriage was never consummated, he being obliged the same Day to rise from Table to go to *Riga*, with a Detachment that was ordered to secure that Place. Others will have the Marriage to have been consummated, and send him eight Days after with other Dragoons, to reconnoitre the Enemy; and say, that the next Day after his Departure the Town was invested, and taken the Day following. *M. de la Motraye* could be assured of nothing from the common Report of the Country, concerning the Fate of this new-married Man, it being so variously related. One while he was told, that he was killed in the first Attack of the Town; another, that he was in the Number of those, who not being able to hold out against the Efforts of the Enemy, retired to *Riga*. Those from whom he heard the last, added, that he was inconsolable for the Loss of his beloved *Catharine*, whom he despaired of ever seeing again; and that he said to some of his Friends, that he would never go to that Place, where, for a few Days, he had been the happiest of Men, as he was now the most unfortunate; but would seek for Death in *Poland*, where his Master would give him Opportunities enough to meet with it: For the King of *Sweden*, despising the Muscovites after the Battle of *Narva*, went into *Poland* to find Enemies, who, in his Opinion, were more worthy his great Courage.

Perhaps the Husband of *Catharine* had less Hopes of seeing her again, as he had heard that the Muscovites had already sent many Families Prisoners into *Russia*, and sold several young Girls of the Swedish Nation, in their Markets, for Slaves to *Turkey*. The Swedes redeemed some of them; and *M. de la Motraye* himself bought a Girl of the Janizaries, who knew *Catharine*, and told him several Particulars relating to her, which were confirmed to him in the Country afterwards.

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Altho' the taking of *Maribourg* was a Misfortune to the young Husband of *Catharine*, yet it was to her the Epoch from whence she was to date the greatest Happiness that a Mortal could aspire to. By her Complaisance and engaging Behaviour, she made herself Mistress of the Heart and Affections of the Czar; she accompanied him every where, and shared with him in all the Dangers and Fatigues of the War. It has been observed, that Enjoyment, and even Marriage, which often prove the Grave of Love, served only to augment his: She had in some Sort the Government of all his Passions, and even saved the Lives of a great many more Persons than *M. Le Fort* was able to do. She inspired him with Humanity, which, according to the Complaints of his Subjects, Nature seemed to have denied him.

This Monarch, among his other excellent Qualities, was very judicious, and would willingly receive good Advice. A *Scotch* Officer, who had a great Share in his Favour and Confidence, one Day making his Remarks to him, with his usual Familiarity, upon his bloody Executions, and some Exactions which to him seemed oppressive; and telling him, that he had always observed, that those Princes who used their Subjects with Humanity, by that Means made themselves Masters of their Hearts and Purse: He answered him, that that was true in Respect to his own Nation, to *Germany*, and perhaps every other *European* Nation, but not to his: For, if he had not treated them with the Severity he did, he should long before that have lost the *Russian* Empire, or never have made it what it was.

One Word from the Mouth of *Catharine*, in Favour of a Wretch just going to be sacrificed to his Anger, would disarm him: But, if he was fully resolved to satisfy that Passion, he would give Orders for the Execution to be done when she was absent, for fear she should plead for the Victim. She acquired the Love and Esteem of Soldiers, Sailors, and every one else. She would often go herself, before or after an Engagement, followed by some of her Servants, with Bottles of strong Liquors, and fill out several Glasses to give them with her own Hands."

To

To proceed: On the 20th of *September* 1702, News was brought to *Moscow*, that *Notebourg* was taken by his Majesty's Arms; for which *Te Deum* was sung three Days after in the principal Church. In *December* following the Czar arrived at *Nikoolsky*, the House of the Governor of *Siberia*, but seven Wersts from the City. While he was here, every thing was got in Readiness for his making a public Entry. Most of the Foreign Merchants had Orders to provide themselves with a greater Number of Horses than usual, and with a Servant dressed in the *English* Fashion, to conduct the Artillery that had been taken from the *Swedes*. The Day he was to make his Entry, the Foreign Ministers, the *English* Consul and *Dutch* Resident, and some of the Merchants, went to pay their Compliments to him at *Nikoolsky*. Against his Approach, triumphal Arches were erected of Wood, in the Street of *Moesnits*; the first near the Printing-House, which the Czar had lately ordered to be built, tho' an Attempt of that Kind had formerly been so unsuccessful; the second near the Admiralty Office, about four hundred Paces from the other. The Streets and Fields were filled with People to see the Procession, which was made with the utmost Magnificence. But as I shall describe one in the second Book, made on a greater Occasion, I omit the Particulars of this.

A very few Months after this Triumph, his Majesty took the Town of *Nie-schantz* in *Ingria*. Observing here, that about a German Mile lower down, the River *Neva*, dividing itself into several Branches, formed a Number of little Islands, this first inspired him with the Thoughts of building a City there, which should give him a Footing in the *Baltick* Sea: He went himself to sound the River, and view the Islands. Spying several *Swedish* Ships cruising in the Gulf of *Finland*, he ordered a Detachment of about 1000 Men to be posted in the Island of *Retusari*, where *Cronstot* now lies. The *Swedes*, endeavouring to dislodge the *Russians*, fired upon them continually from one of their Ships, which made the *Russians* retire, and hide themselves behind a great Quantity of Stones lying on the Shore: Upon which the *Swedes*, believing they were gone to the other Side of the Island, and made off in their Vessels, ventured to land;

land; but the *Russians*, issuing from their Coverts, receiv'd them so warmly, that they were glad to retire to their Ships, having lost several of their Men. The Czar, after this Skirmish, kept Possession of the Island, made a Harbour there, and a Fort with a Borough, now called *Cronslot*. More and more pleased with the Situation of the Neighbouring Country, he pursued his Resolution of building the City of *Petersburg*, and in the Month of May 1703, where, at that Time, were only four or five Fishermens Huts, he raised the first House, which was only a low Hall, made with Planks and Joists, to secure himself from the Weather, and rest in: But in Memory of this great Undertaking, it hath been preserved ever since; being inclosed with a wooden Gallery, raised on a Wall three or four Feet high. The Place he pitched upon is inaccessible, from the Depth of the River *Neva*, and from the Country's being a Morass all round it. His Resolution being thus taken, and the Work begun, he issued forth Orders, pursuant to which many thousand Workmen, *Russians*, *Tartars*, *Cossacks*, *Calmucks*, and Peasants of all Sorts, were soon brought thither; and there made a Beginning of the new Fortrefs. He was obliged to break through Forests, to open Ways, to dry up Moors, to raise Banks, before he could lay the Foundation of this new Town. The Whole was a Force put upon Nature: But the Czar aspired higher than only to the Destruction of Towns, like ordinary Heroes: There were no Difficulties that he would not surmount, no Toils but he would undergo, to raise the Grandeur of his Nation. When this Work was first undertaken, the Men had neither sufficient Provisions for subsisting them, nor even necessary Tools; no Houses or Huts to dwell in; and yet they proceeded with such Expedition, that in five Months Time the Fortrefs was raised, though the Earth thereabouts was so scarce that the greatest Part of the Labourers carried it in the Skirts of their Clothes, and in Bags made of old Rags and Mats. It is computed that no less than 100,000 Men perished in this Undertaking; for, as the Country had been made desolate by War, and the usual Supplies by the Lake of *Ladoga* were often retarded, no Provisions could be had even for ready Money. While the Fortrefs, the Plan of which was drawn

drawn by the Czar himself, was going on, the City began by Degrees to be built. His Majesty obliged not only the Nobility, but Merchants and Tradesmen of all Sorts, to go and live there, and to trade in such Commodities as they were ordered. This at first was not at all agreeable to the Nobility and Persons of Distinction, who in *Moscow* had very large Buildings within the City, and Country Seats and Villages about it, where they had Fish-ponds, and Gardens with Plenty of Fruits, that were not to be expected at *Petersburgh*. However, as the Place was agreeable to the Designs and Humour of the Czar, he paid little regard to the Complaints of those who considered their own Luxury more than the Advantage of their Country. The *Boyars* brought hither great Retinues, and the Merchants and Shop-keepers found their Account in this new City, where every Thing bore an excessive Price. Several *Saxons*, *Frislanders*, and *Livonians*, not being able to subsist in their own Towns, depopulated by the Wars, continued here. Artificers, Mechanics, and Seamen, were invited hither to encourage Shipping, and the Affairs of the Navy. These Workmen, having worked the Time out that was appointed by his Majesty, were hired to build for the *Boyars*, and some of them even built Houses for themselves, and settled at *Petersburgh*. They were greatly encouraged to this, by every Man's being allowed to pitch upon the Spot that pleased him best. In one Year's Time, about 30,000 Houses were erected, and now there are above double the Number. It is true, there are some but mean, which may be taken to Pieces in two or three Hours Time; but these are chiefly in the *Slabodes*, or *Suburbs*. The King of Sweden, when he was told in Poland of the Buildings the Czar was about, answered, "That he might amuse himself if he pleased, with such an Employment: He should soon take them from him, and, if they were worth it, he would keep them; if not, he would set them on fire". So little did he consider the growing Power of the Prince who was to oppose him; which, without doubt, he might have much retarded, had he known how to follow his Victory at *Narva*. *Augustus*, daily driven every where before the *Swedes*, sent an Embassy to the Czar, to conclude a Treaty of

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Alliance, offensive and defensive. This was disliked by the Senate: But he had done so many other Things against the Inclinations of the *Poles*, that their Affections were quite lost, and most of them favoured the Assembly held by the Primate at *Warsaw*; who, after many specious Pretences, at last threw off the Mask, and on the 14th of *February* 1704, declared in the Name of the whole Assembly, *Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, incapable of wearing the Crown of *Poland*: Upon which it was agreed that the Throne was vacant, and that a new Election should be made. But before this Resolution was taken, a long Letter from the Czar was read in the Assembly. It was superscribed "To the Primate and Senate," and set forth, "That tho' his Majesty had often heard of the wicked Designs of many of their Nation against their lawful Sovereign, he paid no regard to it till he found the Evil more and more increasing: That he then thought it his Duty, in regard to the Dignity of Princes, the common Rights of Mankind, and his Engagements with the King of *Poland*, to interpose. He charges them with Perfidy in very high Terms, and vindicates his present Resolution. Towards the Conclusion are these Expressions.

"However, we shall continue the necessary Preparations, that in Case the disaffected Party persist in their wicked Designs, we may be able to exert the Power God has given us, to support and maintain his sacred Majesty on a Throne he is lawfully possess'd of. As to those who shall side with the King, or shall, in due Time, return to their Duty, we shall grant them our special Favour, and shew them as much Affection, as if they had done something for ourselves, and promoted our own Advantage, promising to assist them with all our Power for pacifying these Troubles. But for such who oppose the most serene King of *Poland*, their Sovereign, and will not desist from their pernicious Design, we declare them our Enemies with all their Adherents, and shall punish them as such every where, and shall not forbear our Hostilities against them, till those 'Disturbers of the publick Peace, and Enemies of their Countrymen, have been severely punished, made an Example to others, and are plucked out like a Weed of the Kingdom of *Poland*,

and

and Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, and till our Neighbourhood is cleared of those wicked Men."

This Letter had no great Effect upon the Nobility, though some of them represented, that it deserved to be maturely considered: But prudent Consideration being inconsistent with their Designs, they resolved to proceed to a new Election, which would have fallen upon Prince *James Sobieski*, recommended by the King of *Sweden*, if a Letter sent from Prince *Alexander Sobieski* had not informed them, that his Brothers, *James* and *Constantine*, being hunting not far from *Breslaw* in *Silesia*, a Party of Horse, sent privately by *Augustus*, had, by his Orders, surprized and carried them off to *Leipsick*, where they were put under Confinement. Prince *Alexander Sobieski* and the Prince of *Conti* were then named; the first favoured by the King of *Sweden*, and the second by the Primate, almost alone. *Alexander*, pressed by *Charles* to accept the Crown, absolutely refused it while his elder Brother lived. This Moderation of Prince *Alexander*, and the few Friends that appeared for the Prince of *Conti*, made way for a new Candidate, *Stanislaus Leszczynski*, the Palatine of *Poznan*, a young Lord, endowed with great Virtues and Merit; who had almost every Voice in the Republick, and was soon declared King of *Poland* and Grand Duke of *Lithuania*.

When *Augustus* heard of this Election, he assembled a great Council at *Sandomir*, and got *Stanislaus* declared a Rebel and Traitor to his Country: But while he was contending with his Rival by vain Declarations, the King of *Sweden* every where routed his *Saxon* Troops. The Czar, in the mean Time, grew every Day more formidable. He had trained up his Soldiers in military Discipline; had good Officers, skilful Engineers, and a serviceable Artillery. He had made himself Master of *Dnpt*, and on the 21st of *August* 1704, took *Narva* by Assault, after a regular Siege. When his Soldiers were possessed of this Town, and committed numberless Outrages, the Czar himself ran from Place to Place to stop their Disorders, and even killed some of them with his own Hand, that would not listen to his Commands. His Conquests here confirmed his Footing in the *Baltick* Sea. For when he had reduced this Town, and *Iwanogorod*,

gorod, he used all his Endeavours to make the Place impregnable, and to complete the Fortrefs of *Petersburgh*. Having himself founded the Waters about the Neighbouring Islands, he found that *Retufari* might be made a safe Harbour for his Fleet, and a great Defence to *Petersburgh*, the only Passage to which was on the South Side of this Island. Sensible of the Advantage of this Situation, he made it a Port for his Fleet, and built a Town there, which he fortified with a strong Castle called *Cronslot*. This last stands on a Sand-Bank in the midst of the Sea, about a Cannon-Shot from the Island, and a Mile from the Coast of *Ingria*. The Foundation of it was laid in Winter, upon the Ice, with Boxes made of Timber and fill'd up with Stone, on which the Rest was afterwards built with Timber filled up with Earth. This Castle is round, with three Galleries about it above each other, and well furnished with Cannon. There are two Batteries on the Island over against it, of 10 or 12 Guns each, and, in Case of Necessity, the Piers of the Harbour may be mounted with 40 or 50 more.

The *Suedes* were not a little uneasy to see the Works of *Petersburgh* and *Cronslot* go on in this Manner. Major General *Meydel*, who commanded in *Carelia*, took upon him to interrupt them: He sent a Party thither under the Conduct of one *Arnfeldt*, whose Guide carrying him beyond the Fort upon the Ice, he was discovered by the *Russian* Soldiers. These latter kept on their Guard, but could not hinder *Arnfeldt* from ravaging the whole Isle of *Retufari*. However, the greatest Loss of the *Muscovites* was two Vessels of 20 or 30 Guns, that lay on the Ice, and to which they set fire. But the greatest Danger to the Czar was from the naval Armament at *Carelskroon*, which seemed to threaten his new City with inevitable Ruin. This Squadron was to consist of 12 Ships of the Line of Battle, and 28 Frigates. *Denmark* indeed was more uneasy at it than the Czar, who depended upon the Impossibility of the *Suedes* passing by *Cronslot*. *Ankersteirn*, who commanded the *Suedish* Fleet, transported 6000 Recruits to *Revel*, and having joined the Squadron of Vice-Admiral *Spar*, they went in search of the *Russian* Flotilla, commanded by Vice-Admiral *Vander-Kruys*.

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On the 4th of July the *Russians* discovered the Enemy's Fleet, consisting of 22 Men of War, that took the Road to *Cronslot*. On the 6th in the Afternoon, they gave the Signal, and presently *Ankersteirn* and *Spar* drew up their Squadron in *Batalia*. *Spar*, by the Help of the continual Fire from the Admiral's Vessels, passed towards the Point of the Island of *Retufari*, attacking the *Russians* incessantly with Bullets and Bombs, whilst a great Number of Grenadiers, in flat Boats, attempted to land on the Island: But they were received with so much Order and Bravery, that after they had lost almost all their Soldiers, they were obliged to retreat. In this Action the *Russians* had but one Man killed, and three wounded.

The Czar, having put every Thing in Order, and reviewed most of his Troops, now prepared to open the Campaign of 1705. Marechal *Czeremetoff* marched before, with 18 or 20,000 Men, and his Majesty followed, at the Head of his Army, into *Lithuania*. Nothing kept the Velt-Marechal till he came into *Courland*, where, in Spite of *Lieuwenhaupt*, at the Head of 7 or 8000 Men, General *Baur*, with about 20,000 *Russian* Horse, penetrated as far as *Mittaw*, surpris'd the Town, made all that were in it Prisoners, and took a great Booty. *Knoring's* Regiment, in garrison here, were most of them put to the Sword, or taken Prisoners; and the Colonel himself escaped by a private Gate, after having more than once run the Risk of his Life. The *Russians*, having given this Blow, retired to their Camp at *Nepten*.

The Design of the Velt-Marechal was not so much to conquer *Courland*, as to harraß the Enemy, and drive away the Troops commanded by *Lieuwenhaupt*, that he might sit down quietly before *Riga*. *Lieuwenhaupt* penetrated into his Design, and as soon as he heard of this March, gave Notice of it to the Governor of *Riga*, who re-inforced him with 1000 Men. He also sent for the Regiments of *Hann* and *Schreitenfels*, and put himself in a Posture to receive the *Russians*. He was busy in giving his Orders, when a Groom, escaped from *Mittaw*, inform'd him of the *Muscovites* having seized on that Place. He instantly went a full Gallop, with his Cavalry,

valry, towards that Capital, where he found nothing but the melancholy Footsteps of the Enemy's Passage. Having reposed here a while, he was rejoined by his Infantry, and resolving to seek a Post, which would not be easy to force, he chose a very narrow Spot, where his small Number of Men might make head, without being obliged to extend themselves. Here, rightly judging that the *Russians* would come in Quest of him, he made all the necessary Dispositions.

Czeremetoff had 14,000 Horse and Dragoons, 4000 Foot, and 2000 *Cossacks*, with which he went to attack the *Swedes*. He found them drawn up in two Lines, their right Wing covered by a Morass, and on the left by a River: The Cannon was in two Lines, between the Wings and the Centre; and the Baggage in the Rear. As soon as *Lieutenanthaupt* had Notice that the *Russians* came towards him, he ordered three Colonels, with four Squadrons, to advance about 1000 Paces, and observe the Motions of the *Russians*, retiring as soon as they saw the Army approach. But a Wood on the left of the *Swedes*, over the River, favouring the Motion of the *Muscovites*, this Detachment was no sooner perceived by them, but it was surrounded by the *Russians*, who had passed the River. This Cavalry, tho' at first attacked with much Fury, supported the Shock, and at length retreated to the main Body of their Army: And *Lieutenanthaupt*, perceiving the *Russians* Front very much extended, resolved not to give them Time for new forming themselves; in which his Commands were so readily executed, that both Armies soon came to an Engagement. The *Russians* first fell on the left Wing of the *Swedes*; and the Velt-Mareschal, dismounting the Foot which were brought behind the Horsemen, they attacked the *Swedish* Cavalry with Fire and Sword. But they were received with so much Vigour, that there was a great Slaughter on both Sides. At length some *Russian* Squadrons having crossed the River to attack the Enemy in Flank, the *Swedish* Cavalry was pushed so warmly that they fell back, and put the whole Order of Battle into Confusion. The left Wing began to lose Ground, and Victory seemed to declare for the *Russians*, when the Infantry of the second Line took the Place of this Wing,

Wing, and gave it Time to rally. Then the *Russian* Foot found themselves encompassed by the two Lines, and were cut to pieces, the *Swedes* facing about on all Sides. In this Action the *Russians* lost 5 or 6000 Men, and the Velt-Mareschal was wounded: But the Victory was dearly purchased by the *Swedes*, who lost several brave Commanders, and near 2000 Men. And the *Swedish* General, in giving an Account of this Battle, said, the *Russians* all along behaved like brave Soldiers.

The Czar was now at *Vilna*, with his Army, which he reviewed before many Grandees of *Poland*, who admired in how short a Time that Monarch had disciplined his Troops. His first Design was to march along the *Duna*, and form the Siege of *Riga*; but this Check that he received, and an Account that *Lieutenanthaupt* had put Garrisons into *Mittau* and *Bautske*, so as to be always sure of a Retreat to *Riga*, made the Czar change his Resolution. And as the King of *Sweden* and King *Stanislaus* had convoked a general Diet at *Warsaw*, to put the last Hand to their Grand Design of crowning the latter, it was necessary for the common Cause to endeavour to trouble that Assembly.

The Citizens of *Dantzick*, who had put themselves under the Protection of the King of *Prussia*, maintained a Conduct so equivocal, as to satisfy neither Party. They gave an Asylum to the Primate, and Protection to the Party of King *Augustus*, who were both equally desirous to have them absolutely in their Interest. This made Count *Piper* write a very pressing Letter to the Magistracy, the Menaces in which determined them to the Interest of the *Swedes*. The Czar, who was attentive to all that passed, wrote also to these Magistrates, not only to make his Complaints of their Behaviour, but to inform them of the Motives that brought him into *Poland*, and to let them know, that if they persisted in favouring his Enemies, the Citizens themselves must expect to be treated as such. He also published a Manifesto, signifying the Reasons of his coming into *Poland* with 100,000 foreign Troops; the Chief of which was the Election of *Stanislaus* to the Crown, in prejudice of *Augustus*. He declared himself an Enemy to all the

the Enemies of the latter ; but protested that he had no Views therein to his own Advantage, regarding only the Peace of the Republick, which he would endeavour to preserve, and not suffer his Soldiers to commit any Disorders. This Manifesto was dated the 23d of June, 1705. His Majesty had been received on the 19th at *Vilna*, the Capital of *Lithuania*, by the Referendary of the great Dutchy, in the Name of King *Augustus* and all the State. This Lord made a long Speech to give him Joy on his Arrival, and felicitate his Country on having so powerful a Protector : Which Prince *Menzikoff* in a few Words answered, and his Majesty renewed the Promises he had before made, that he would not suffer his Troops to commit any Disorders. They marched divided in three Bodies ; that of the Velt-Marschal *Czeremetoff* went through *Courland* ; the *Hottman Mazzeppa*, with 50 or 60,000 *Cossacks*, entered into *Black Russia*, to join the Party of King *Augustus* ; and the Velt-Marschal *Ogilby* led a third, as strong as the second, and in which the Czar was in Person, into *Lithuania*.

After the Action of *Gemaurthoff*, General *Leuvenhaupt* was in no Condition to attend the *Russians*, much less to act offensively ; but his Retreat to *Riga* had left *Courland* entirely exposed. And now the Czar took that Dutchy under his Protection, ordering the Inhabitants to send to his Commissary, Prince *Menzikoff*, all the Arms and Effects belonging to the Enemy : But the *Courlanders* were too much in the Interest of *Sweden*, to obey his Orders willingly ; so that the Prince was obliged to renew the Ordinance of his Master, adding to it Threats of corporal Punishment on Disobedience. In the mean Time the King of *Sweden* remained quietly in his Camp, employed only in crowning the King of *Poland* : The *Saxons* on one Side, the *Russians* on the other, and lastly the *Cossacks*, all agreeing to oppose this pretended Dict.

Admiral *Ankershoorn*, who before made an unsuccessful Attempt on *Gousset*, thought he should be able to succeed better now, all the Czar's Forces being advanced into *Lithuania* and *Courland*. *Lazelle*, the Engineer, who had been sent to view the Island and Port, would have

have dissuaded him from it ; but the Admiral himself ordered the Attack. This Descent, fixed for the 15th of July, was to be made by Favour of the Fleet. The *Russians* under Colonel *Tobuleb*, Commandant of the Island of *Retujeri*, waited for them without any Disturbance. The Castle was not only in a better State of Defence than when it was attacked before, but was also guarded by a good Wall against the Artillery. The advanced Guard of the *Swedes* met, for their first Obstacle, a Shallow covered with the Points of Rocks, which broke several of their Sloops, and overfet others. The Soldiers, with much Intrepidity, jumped into the Water, which, as they advanced, took them up to the Neck, and cost some of them their Lives. Being at length landed, they were received by the *Russians* lying on their Bellies before their Batteries, which being charged with Cartridges, a Discharge from them had all the Success imaginable. The *Russians* finished with their Muskets, what the Cannon had so well begun ; so that during this Attack, which did not last an Hour, the *Swedes* had 12 Officers and 400 Soldiers killed, 9 Officers and 170 Men wounded ; and had it not been for the Fire of their Vessels, not a Man of them would have got back to the Fleet. Thus was the Admiral a second Time forced to retreat, fully convinced of the Strength of the Castle, and its advantageous Situation. These Advantages gained at Sea, encouraged the Czar to augment his Marine.

Major-General *Mejdel*, being informed in *Carolia* of the Admiral's Enterprize, resolved at the same Time to undertake something against the Fortress of *Petersburgh*. Having got together about 20,000 Falcines, and a large Number of Gabions, he attacked the Line that covered the Fortress ; but found it so well defended, that after the Loss of 200 Men, he quitted the Place, and retired to the Ruins of *Nie-Schantz*. From thence he sent a Detachment into *Ingria*, where another Detachment from the Gariton of *Petersburgh*, sent by Major-General *Bruner*, the Commandant, soon put them to flight : So that this whole Expedition terminated only in attacking a Sawing-Mill, between *Petersburgh* and *Shentelburgh*. This Mill was encompassed by a double Range of Pallisades, within which

which the *Russians* had raised a good Parapet, that covered 2000 Men. The *Swedish* General summoned them to surrender, which they refusing, he was obliged in Honour to attack the Mill. He was twice repulsed; but at the third Assault his Troops passed the Pallisades, and advanced to the Foot of the Parapet, over which he threw a great Quantity of Grenades, some of which set fire to the *Russian* Magazine of Powder: But the Besieged, far from surrendering, became the more desperate, upon this Accident; and making a Sally on their Enemies, drove them beyond the Pallisades, killed above 400 of their Men, and obliged them to retire with no great Credit.

While the *Russians* had these Advantages on their Frontiers, the Czar's Troops in *Courland* made such Progress, that they subdued all that Province to his Obedience. *Mittaw* and *Bautske* were the two only Places able to oppose the Conquerors: The first surrendered without much Resistance; the other with less; but they were forced to employ their Cannon against Colonel *Kzoring*, to oblige him to give up the Castle of *Mittaw*, whither he was retired with about 400 Men. The Colonel at last desiring to capitulate, was allowed very honourable Terms by General *Repnin*, upon the Execution of which, it was found that the *Swedes* had pillaged the Palace and Archives of the Dukes of *Courland*, and even entered into the Vaults of their Dead, to rob their Carcasses of certain Jewels. The *Russians*, that they might not lie under the Suspicion of such an odious Fact, obliged the *Swedes* to be present, while an Inventory was taken of every Thing found, at that Time, in the Ducal Palace and Sepulchre. The King of *Sweden*, all this Time, did not find one Man to defend *Courland*, so much were his Cares employed on the Diet of *Warsaw*; and so much was it the Business of the Czar to trouble that Diet, that after having left General *Baur* with a Body of Troops in *Courland*, and Velt-Mareischal *Czeremetoff* with another in *Livonia*, he went himself at the Head of his Army into *Lithuania*. When he arrived at *Grodno*, he fortified that Place, seized on the Passage of *Tykozin*, and established Magazines in several Places. In short, the Czar was absolute Master

Master of *Lithuania*; and, by the Dispositions he made, he seemed to aim at nothing more than the Preservation of that Province; which made his Enemies encourage a false Rumour, that his Majesty would take that Opportunity of uniting the Great Dutchy to his own Dominions. They were in hopes, by that Means, to draw from his Party the Nobility of *Lithuania* and Upper *Poland*, who held out for King *Augustus*, and to whose Assistance *Mazeppa* was advancing, at the Head of his *Cossacks*.

CHAP. VI.

King Augustus meets the Czar, who is made Colonel in his own Army. Leaves Grodno. Patkul arrested. The Battle of Fravenstad. Charles enters Saxony. The Treaty of Alt-Ranstadt. The Battle of Calish. Patkul's Catastrophe. The Polish Nobility meet at Leopold. The Czar writes to several Potentates against Augustus. The Assembly of Lublin. Stanislaus comes into Poland. The Action of Holowzin. Charles marches into the Ukraine. The Battle of Iezno. The Revolt and Sentence of Mazeppa. The Czar's Ambassador arrested in London. The Siege and Battle of Pultowa. King of Sweden flies to Bender.

THE *King Augustus* had got together 20,000 Men in *Saxony*, it was almost impossible to bring them into *Poland*, all the Passages were so well guarded. But he was so strongly pressed by General *Patkul*, Ambassador from the Czar, and by the Accounts he received from *Warsaw*, that he could not but be sensible how necessary his Presence was in that Kingdom. He left *Dresden*, therefore, *incognito*, accompanied by three Persons only, and arrived at *Dantzick* on the 28th of October, 1705, from whence he proceeded to *Tykozin*. He went next to *Grodno*, and from thence to the Army of the Czar, who had Notice of his Arrival, and at their Meeting, presented him with six Standards, a Molety of those which the *Russians* had taken on the Bridge of *Prang*, upon the *Vistula*, having surprised the *Swedish*

Guard that was posted there. It was at *Grodno* that King *Augustus* instituted the Order of the White Eagle, with Design of rewarding several *Grandeess* of *Poland*, and some of the *Russian* Generals; but this Honour, bestowed by one who had himself but the empty Name of a King, was only Matter of Ridicule. Here likewise another Farce was performed, but such a one as was at least instructive, and not unfit to be acted by Kings. His Czarish Majesty, having requested *Augustus* to take upon him the Command of his Army, caused General *Ogilvi* to propose in Publick, the filling up two vacant Posts of Colonels. *Augustus* said, he was not well acquainted with the *Muscovite* Officers himself; so desired *Ogilvi* to Name two, that he thought worthy those Employments. *Ogilvi* named Prince *Alexander Menzikoff*, and *Peter Alexowitz*, meaning the Czar himself. The King said, he knew the Merits of *Menzikoff*, and would dispatch his Commission; but for the other, he was not informed of his Services. However, after 4 or 5 Days Solicitation, he made *Peter Alexowitz* a Colonel.

When the Conference between the two Kings ended, the Czar left his Troops to his Ally, and went himself to suppress an Insurrection in the Province of *Asiracan*, where the Rebels had ravaged the Country for two Years; putting to Death Men, Women, and Children. They had surprized and cut in Pieces the Governor of *Asiracan*, with most of the Chief Officers of the Garrison: They marched next to *Canishinska*; but the Garrison standing upon their Guard, they were repulsed. They then besieged *Czaritzza*, where meeting with no Success, they returned to *Asiracan*, which was retaken by *Peter Matseich Apraxin*, who put them all to the Sword, except some of the Chiefs, that were sent to *Moscow*, and there executed. The Czar had no sooner left King *Augustus*, but the latter began to listen to some of the *Grandeess* of *Lithuania*, who endeavoured to raise several Suspicion, which diminished the good Understanding that had been between those Princes. He sent to arrest General *Parkul* in *Saxony*, who was there Commandant of those Troops which the Czar had sent to the Relief of *Augustus*, and at the same Time his Czarish Majesty's Plenipotentiary to several Princes in *Germany*; per-

performed then the Functions of this Office at *Dresden*, and had done many real Services to *Augustus*: But all this did not prevent his being taken out of his Bed in the Night, having his Papers seized, and his Person confined, upon a slight Pretence, that he was working secretly to reconcile the Czar and the King of *Saxony*.

The Time being come when the Armies expected to have gone into Quarters, the King of *Sweden* put himself in Motion to make a Winter Campaign. He spent all the Month of *January* in tedious Marches and Countermarches, and greatly damaged his Army, without attempting any Thing. In the mean Time *Augustus* held a grand Council of War, with the *Russian* General, at *Grodno*, in which it was resolved, that the General *Ogilvi*, *Aliard*, and others, as well *Russians* as *Saxons*, and the Great General *Wierowski*, should remain at *Grodno*, from whence, as Occasions offered, they might act both offensively and defensively against the *Swedes*. While the King was to go into *Poland*, to re-establish his Credit in those Places abandoned by his Enemies, and to give necessary Orders for favouring the Entry of his *Saxon* Troops. General *Shullembourg*, who commanded them, at last passed the *Oder*, together with Lieutenant General *Wostromirsky* and his *Russians*. *Renchild* the *Swedish* General, as soon as he heard the News, began his March; and these two famous Generals met on the 12th of *February* 1706, at a Place called *Fraverstad*. *Renchild* had about 10,000 Men, *Shullembourg* twice the Number. Both Armies engaged; but such was the Terror of the *Swedish* General, that although *Shullembourg* had made the best Disposition imaginable, yet the Battle lasted not a Quarter of an Hour. *Renchild* found 7000 loaded Fuses thrown on the Ground, without being fired. The *Muscovites* begged for Life on their Knees; but *Renchild*, or according to others, King *Charles* himself, ordered them to be inhumanly massacred in cold Blood, above six Hours after the Battle.

King *Augustus* had now nothing left but *Cracow*, in which Place he was shut up with a few Troops. The Loss of the Battle of *Fraverstad* had quite discouraged his Party in *Poland*, and put the King of *Saxony* in a Condition to drive the *Russians* out of *Lithuania*, where the

Nobility began to declare for the new King. Marechal *Ogilvi*, seeing the bad Situation he was in, made a very prudent Retreat.

The Czar was now at *Smolenski*, at the Head of 20,000 of his best Troops, to which *Mazeppa* had joined 30 or 40,000 *Cossacks*. Hither came the Bishop of *Cujavia*, on the Part of *Augustus*, who complained much that his Ally should abandon him. The Czar, tho' ever so willing to assist him, was not obliged to do all alone: Besides, the present Posture of Affairs made him think of the Defence of his own Dominions; and we must add to this, his Resentment for the Seizure of *Pathul*, whose Release he demanded without giving Audience to the *Polyb* Prelate. *Menzikoff*, however, wrote some Time after to *Augustus*, that the Czar his Master had not withdrawn his Troops from *Lithuania*, but to re-establish them in a better Air, and to return with fresh Forces at the Beginning of the next Campaign.

The King of *Sweden* having joined *Renschild*, and entering into *Saxony*, completed the Misfortunes of *Augustus*, who found himself under a Necessity to submit to the Conqueror; and therefore, for fear of the *Muscovites*, sent Baron *Imhoff* and *Pfingsten* to *Charles*, in the Night, at *Ali-Rasstadt*, with full Powers, and a *Carte Blanche*. When *Charles* received the Letter, he ordered them to wait, and retiring into his Closet, where he staid but a very short Time, returned with a Paper in which he had written the following Contents.

"I consent to give Peace upon the following Conditions, in which it must not be expected that I shall make the least Alteration.

First, That King *Augustus* renounce for ever the Crown of *Poland*; that he acknowledge *Sweden* as lawful King; and that he promise never to remount the Throne, not even after the Death of *Augustus*.

Second, That he renounce all other Treaties, and particularly those he has made with *Alfort*.

Third, That he send back with Honour the Prince *Sobieski* into my Camp, and all the Prisoners he has ever taken.

Fourth, That he deliver into my Hands all the Defectors which have entered into his Service, and particularly

cularly *John Pathul*, and that all Proceedings be stopt against such as have passed from his Service into mine."

The Plenipotentiaries could not bring *Charles* to make any Abatement in these Conditions; but were forced to yield to his inflexible Obstinacy. He exercised, at that Time, an absolute Power in *Saxony*. He even ordered the Registers of the Finances to be laid before him; that he might know the Strength of the Electorate, and exacted of the States 625,000 at first, and afterwards 500,000 Crowns per Month.

Whilst the Treaty was secretly negotiating at *Ali-Rasstadt*, Prince *Menzikoff*, now Generalissimo of the *Muscovite* Army, brought 30,000 Men, and joined the Forces of *Brandus*, which were not above 6000. The King was under terrible Apprehensions of what might be the Consequence, if they should discover his Negotiation with *Sweden*: But he was still in much greater Perplexity, when he beheld the Presence of 10,000 *Svedes*, commanded by General *Meyerfeldt*, approaching him at *Calph*. In this Extremity he could think of no better Expedient, than to send one to the *Swedish* General, to let him partly into the Secret of the Negotiation, and desire him to withdraw: But *Meyerfeldt*, taking this to be only an Invention to amuse him, redoubled his Ardour for the Fight. *Augustus*, pressed forward by the Instances of *Menzikoff*, and provoked at the Confidence of *Meyerfeldt*, was forced to consent to a Battle: In which Victory was on the Side of the *Muscovites*. The *Svedes* and their Allies being encompassed on all Sides, were obliged to throw down their Arms and beg for Quarter. They had about 3000 Men killed and wounded, and 4. or 5000 taken Prisoners; among whom were General *Meyerfeldt*, Count *Tarlo*, and several Officers of Distinction. All the Enemy's Artillery and Baggage were in the Power of the Victors: But when *Augustus* was entering *Warsaw* in Triumph, *Pfingster*, one of his Plenipotentiaries, presented him with the Treaty of Peace which deprived him of his Crown. In the first Emotions of his Heart, he paused with himself for a short Time, to consider if he ought not to march at the Head of his now victorious Troops, and fall upon the King who treated him so disgracefully: But considering that

Charles was at the Head of an Army never yet beaten, that the *Muscovites* would all forsake him when they heard of the Treaty, and that his hereditary Country would be ravaged by both Parties, he thought it most advisable to sign. He then set out for *Saxony*, in Hopes of softening, by his Presence, the Inflexibility of his Enemy. They met in Count *Piper's* Quarters at *Gunterfsdorf* more than once, where *Charles* treated his vanquished Foe with all the outward Appearance of Respect: But that was of little Value, when weighed against the real Severity, with which he exacted his Compliance with every Article of the Treaty. And, as a farther Punishment for his having dared to fight General *Meyerfeldt* at *Calish*, he forced the ungrateful Task upon him, of writing the following Letter to *Stanislaus*, on his Advancement to the Crown of *Poland*.

Sir and Brother,

As I ought to have Regard to the Request of the King of *Sweden*, I cannot avoid congratulating your Majesty, upon your coming to the Crown; though perhaps the advantageous Treaty the King of *Sweden* has lately concluded for your Majesty, might have excused me from this Correspondence: However, I congratulate your Majesty, beseeching God that your Subjects may be more faithful to you, than they have been to me.

Leipsick, April 8, 1707. Augustus, King.

Stanislaus wrote this Answer.

Sir and Brother,

The Correspondence of your Majesty is a fresh Obligation which I owe to the King of *Sweden*: I have a just Sense of the Compliments you make me upon my coming to the Crown; and I hope my Subjects will have no Room to fail of their Fidelity towards me, as I shall observe the Laws of the Kingdom.

Stanislaus, King of *Poland*.

Au-

Augustus, from this Time, was obliged to renounce the Title of King of *Poland*. His Name was erased out of the publick Prayers, to give Place to that of *Stanislaus*; all which he could more easily digest, than the being obliged to give up *Patkul* to the Vengeance of the King of *Sweden*. The Czar, on one Hand, loudly demanded his Minister; but *Charles* threatened terrible Things if he was not delivered to him, according to the Treaty of *Alb. Rangsdal*. The melancholy Story of that *Livonian* Patriot was this.

Charles XI. King of *Sweden*, among the several Severities he exercised upon his Subjects, had taken away many of the Privileges and Estates of the *Livonians*. *Patkul* was deputed by the Nobility to carry the Complaints of that Province to the King, which he did in a most respectful Manner, accompanied with great Courage and Eloquence. *Charles* seemed not displeased with what he said; but laying his Hand on *Patkul's* Shoulder, told him, "He had spoke for his Country like a brave Man, and that he loved him for it." Yet a few Days after, he caused him to be condemned for a Traitor. *Patkul* escaped into *Poland*, and was well received by *Augustus*, from whose Service he passed into that of the Czar, and so continued till the Time of his Confinement, which was occasion'd by his having discovered the Design of Count *Fleming* and the Chancellor of *Saxony*, to obtain a Peace with *Sweden* at any Rate; upon which he immediately formed a Scheme to supplant theirs, and bring about an Accommodation between his Master and the *Swedes*. The others getting some Intelligence of this, prevailed upon *Augustus* to imprison him: and that Prince, writing to the Czar, told him that *Patkul* was a pernicious Wretch, and would betray them both. The Czar, who had great Penetration, and knew the Merits of *Patkul*, insisted upon his being sent back to him. *Augustus*, at the same Time intimidated by the Threat of the King of *Sweden*, came to this Resolution, that he would secretly contrive the Prisoner's Escape, by which Means he should both satisfy the Czar, and evade the Wrath of King *Charles*. But the Governor of the Castle of *Kniphlag*, knowing he was rich, demanded a large Sum of Money of him for his Liberty. *Patkul*, relying on the Law of Nation, and being in

formed of *Augustus's* Intentions, refused to comply with the Mercenary Governor. And while they were thus disputing the Matter, a Party of *Swedes* came up, and forced the Victim out of the Hands of his jailor. He was carried to the General Quarters at *Alt-Ransstadt*, and there kept, for three Months, chained to a Stake. *Charles*, forgetting that *Patkul* was the Czar's Ambassador, and considering only that he was born his Subject, ordered a Council of War to pass Sentence upon him, with the utmost Rigour. He was condemned to be broke alive upon the Wheel, and quartered. A Chaplain came to let him know, that he was to die, without informing him of the Manner of his Punishment. Upon the Information, this Man, who had braved Death in so many Battles, finding his Courage no longer supported by Glory or Passion, broke into a bitter Flood of Tears, which he poured into the Bosom of the Chaplain. He was engaged to a *Saxon* Lady, who had all the Advantages of Birth, Merit, and Beauty, and whom he had thoughts of marrying much about this Time. He desired the Chaplain to wait upon her, to comfort her, and assure her, that he died full of the tenderest Regards for her. When he was led to the Place of Execution, and saw the Wheel and Stake that were prepared for his Death, he fell into Convulsions of Terror, and threw himself into the Arms of the Minister, who embraced him, and covered him with his Cloke, and wept over him. A *Swedish* Officer then read aloud a Paper, containing the following Words.

This is to declare, that the express Order of his Majesty, our most merciful Lord, is, that this Man, who is a Traitor to his Country, be broke upon the Wheel, and quartered, for the Reparation of his Crimes, and for an Example to others; that every one may take care of Treason, and faithfully serve his King.

At the Words, *Most merciful Lord, Patkul* cried out, *What Mercy!* And at those of *Traitor to his Country*, *Alas!* said he, I have served it too well. He received 16 Blows; and endured the longest and most dreadful Tortures that can be imagined. Thus died the unhappy *John Renold Patkul*, Ambassador and General of the Czar of *Muscovy*. This Quality, in the Opinion of
all,

all, ought to have rendered his Person sacred. Only the King of *Sweden*, brought up in the Principles of arbitrary Power, judged that he had done no more than an Act of Justice, whilst all *Europe* condemned his Cruelty. *Patkul's* Members were quartered, and remained exposed upon Gibbets till the Year 1713, when *Augustus* having regained his Throne, ordered these Testimonies of his Necessity to be collected together: They were brought to him in a Box to *Warsaw*, in Presence of the *French* Ambassador; to whom shewing the Box, he said simply, *See the Members of Patkul*, without any Addition of Blame or Complaint.

When his Czarish Majesty heard of the unaccountable Treaty of *Alt-Ransstadt*, and of *Patkul's* being imprisoned, it is easy to imagine what Thoughts he must entertain of such Conduct. This Treachery of his Ally thwarted all his Designs, and obliged him to retire to the Frontiers of his own Dominions, that he might secure his Conquests in *Ingria* and *Livonia*. *Narva* was strongly fortified, and his People worked incessantly at *Peterburgh*: But above all, he endeavoured to bring as many Vessels as possible into the Gulph of *Finland*. The *Swedish* Admiral made a new Attempt, with little Damage, on the Fortress of *Peterburgh*; and the Czar, to draw the *Swedes* out of his Country, carried the War home into their own Territories. With this View, in the Depth of Winter, he laid Siege to *Wybourg*, the Capital of *Carelia*; in which Service he employed 18,000 Foot, and 6000 Horse. The Siege lasted three Weeks, during which he threw 1500 Bombs in the Town. But Major General *Mindel* had the Precaution to bring Troops and Provisions into the Place, before it was blocked up; besides which the Besieged had the Sea opened to them, and a great Number of the Militia got together from all Parts of the Country about. All these Difficulties, joined to the Season of the Year, rendered the Enterprize of the *Russians* impracticable; for which Reason they retired into their Winter Quarters, and his Czarish Majesty called about him the most experienced of his Generals, to consult with them how to prevent the ill Consequences that might be expected from what had passed at *Savvay*.

It was propos'd in the Czar's Council, to retaliate the King of Sweden's Usage of *Patkul*, by treating the *Swedish* Officers, who were Prisoners at *Moscow*, in the same Manner: But his Majesty could not consent to such Barbarity; which indeed might have had very bad Consequences, since there were more *Muscovites* Prisoners in Sweden than there were *Swedes* in *Moscow*. He resolv'd therefore on a safer and more honourable Revenge.

Being at *Zolkiew*, the Quarters of Prince *Menzikoff*, several of the *Polish* Grandees came to him there to pay their Court, before they met in the Assembly of *Leopold*. His Behaviour to them was so obliging, as entirely gain'd him the Affection of all who approach'd him.

The grand Council, consisting of the chief Officers of State, met in the Month of *February*. Count *Denhoff*, Sword-Bearer of the Crown, made a pathetick Speech on the unfortunate State of the Kingdom, earnestly exhorting the Members of it to Unanimity at that Juncture. It was resolv'd in this Assembly to renew the Confederation of *Sandomir*, and the grand Question was, *Whether they had any King or not?* Which passing in the Negative, they talk'd of declaring the Throne vacant, and agreed to summon a Diet to meet at *Lublin* in *May* following. The Assembly, at the same Time, insist'd upon writing to all foreign Potentates, to desire them to forbear acknowledging any Person for King of *Poland*, till the Republick had notified to them what Prince they had elect'd. The General of the Crown read in the Assembly a Letter from the Czar, wherein he tells them; "That since the King of Sweden, by Force and Canning, had obtained his Ends in dethroning King *Augustus*, there was no Reason to doubt but he would make use of the same Means to deceive the Republick; and that to this Intent, his Ministers had caus'd a Report to be spread in foreign Courts, that a Peace was negotiating between his Czarish Majesty and him. His Czarish Majesty did not deny, that being at *Stroliza*, he express'd to some foreign Ministers the Inclination he had to Peace, and that as a Christian, he thought himself oblig'd to listen to any Overtures of Peace from the King of Sweden, to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood: But that he would never enter into any Treaty but publicly in Concert with

the

the Republick, and by Ministers nominated by each of them." The Assembly, upon reading this Letter, came to a Resolution of returning Thanks to his Majesty, for his favourable Dispositions towards the Republick, and to concert Measures together, to enable them to act properly in the present Situation of their Affairs. During these Transactions the Czar arriv'd at *Leopold*, with the Czarewicz his Son, Prince *Menzikoff*, and some of his Ministers. His Majesty was received publicly, with much Ceremony, and great Marks of Respect. He assist'd at their Debates, and forgot nothing that might induce the Senators to confirm the Confederacy of *Sandomir*; so that what was done at this Meeting, may be look'd upon only as a Conclusion of that Confederacy.

His Majesty, very well satisfied, return'd to *Zoldich* with the Czarewicz and Prince *Menzikoff*: And as a Report had been spread, that his Majesty had a Design to propose his Son for King of *Poland*, to prevent any Suspicions of that kind, he sent the Czarewicz to *Moscow*; and, to shew his Readiness to execute the Treaty he had concluded with the Republick, he immediately order'd 800,000 Florins to be paid to the *Polish* Troops. He also wrote to several Potentates, complaining of the Cowardice and Treachery of King *Augustus*, and of the Violation of the Law of Nations by the King of Sweden. But neither the Force of his Remonstrances, nor the Interest those States had in their Commerce with the Court of *Russia*, could make them forsake the common Cause of the Allies, which required that the King of Sweden should be prevail'd on to leave *Germany*.

By these Letters, and what has been related, it was seen how much Reason the Czar had to complain of *Augustus*, and the infamous Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*; which was very far from mending the Condition of that Prince's Affairs, as he himself complains in a Letter wrote some Time after to the States of *Holland*, wherein he says, *That the Peace which he had made, was so far from putting his Affairs in a better State, that he was reduced to the most deplorable Situation in the World.*

In *May* the Assembly met at *Lublin*, and again by Adjournment in *June*; when, after many Debates, the Throne of *Poland* was declared vacant, and a Diet call'd
for

for a third Election. The Czar wrote a Letter to the Council, to exhort them to Unanimity and Dispatch. He urged very much the Necessity of chusing a new King, as the only Method to reconcile the divided Members of the Republick; and let all the World see, that they looked upon *Stanislaus* as Palatine of *Poznania*, and not as their King. He assured them again, that he would never hearken to any Peace, but in Conjunction with them; and that he had resolved to give Battle to the *Suedes*. He likewise told them, that they ought not to neglect that Opportunity, and assured them, that he would be so far from following the Measures of the *Suedes*, that he would prescribe nothing to them, and would not concern himself directly or indirectly in their State Affairs, and had forbid his Troops to come within 20 Leagues of *Lublin*. His Czarish Majesty wrote another Letter to the Primate and chief Ministers of the Crown, wherein he adds, that he cannot take any solid Measures with the Republick, unless they chuse a new King. After much canvassing, the *Interregnum* was published in *July* following, and the Primate took upon him the Regency of the Republick. But in the mean Time, *Stanislaus* had got himself acknowledged by most of the Princes and States of *Europe*; and leaving *Charles* in *Saxony*, came into *Poland* with General *Rosbilly*, at the Head of 16 *Swedish* Regiments, and was owned as their Sovereign through every Place that he passed.

The King of *Sweden*, having now largely enriched his Military Chest, and augmented his Army to the Number of 50,000, besides the Troops under General *Lewenhaupt* and Major General *Craffau*, fought all Ways to bring the Czar to an Engagement: But *Peter*, seeing how largely he had increased his Forces, tho' he had before determined to give him Battle, now thought it would be dangerous to run that Hazard. He had just then been informed of Propositions made to the King of *Sweden* and *Stanislaus*, by the *Porte*, with an Offer to join with them in an offensive Alliance against *Russia*. Besides this, the King of *Sweden* openly declared, that he intended to make *Russia* the Theatre of the War, and did not doubt but he should find many Revolters, among a People made uneasy by Alterations every Day in the

Customs

Customs and Manners of their Fore-fathers, and who were continually burthened with fresh Taxes. Upon this Intelligence, the Czar thought it would be most advisable to withdraw insensibly into *Lithuania*, on the Frontiers of *Russia*; and by this Retreat *Stanislaus* was left in peaceable Possession of almost all *Poland*. From thence his Czarish Majesty went to *Moscow*, where his Presence was absolutely necessary, as well to give Orders for the Repairs to be made, on Account of a great Fire that had destroyed 1500 Houses, as to check the Spirit of Faction that appeared there. He afterwards gave Orders to augment his Troops on the *Black Sea*, and the Frontiers of *Tartary*.

The Czar had not been at *Moscow* for two Years before, and was therefore received with all possible Demonstrations of Joy. He held several Councils, in which he gave many Orders relating to Affairs in different Provinces, and saw the last Hand put to the Royal Dispensary, which was a superb Building, and one of the greatest Ornaments of the City of *Moscow*. There are eight Apothecaries employed, and five Boys under them, with about 40 Workmen: And from hence the Drugs and Medicines are furnished for the Army and Fleet. Doctor *Arckine*, a *Scotchman*, chief Physician to the Czar, was the first Director of this House. His Czarish Majesty likewise saw, with Pleasure, the Hospital for sick Persons finished; a Structure built of Wood, on the Banks of the River *Jonsa* in the German *Slaboda*. The Dispensary consists of three Chambers, two for the Medicines, and the third for the Herbs of which they are composed. On the Side of this Hospital is a Manufactory of Cloth, which was at first put under the Direction of a Draper, who was sent for by his Majesty from *Holland*; and on the other Side of the River *Moscua* was a Glass-House, for making Looking-Glasses.

His Czarish Majesty had but just celebrated the first Day of the new Year, 1708, when several Couriers came to him from Prince *Menzikoff*, with Advice that the King of *Sweden* was in Motion to re-enter *Lithuania*. The *Russian* Army till then was encamped in such a Manner, that the Troops under General *Lewenhaupt*, on the Side of *Livonia*, were not able either to advance

or

or retreat. These also were in Motion to join the King. The Czar, whose Scheme was to keep the Enemy as far as possible out of his own Dominions, made haste to *Grodno*, to dispute the Passage of the *Niemen* with the *Swedens*. They could not be hindered from passing the *Vistula*, from whence *Charles* with his Army marched with much Speed towards *Lithuania*. He not only found the Country ruined by the *Russians*, but was even obliged to defend himself against the Peasants, who sheltering themselves in the Woods on all Sides, fired incessantly on all who came near them: And two of his Guards, in passing by one of these Woods, had their Horses shot under them, within four Paces of the King himself. The Czar was in *Grodno* when the King of *Sweden*, with about 600 Men, approached the Town. The *Muscovites*, taking this Handful of Men to be the Vanguard of the *Swedish* Army, marched out at the North Gate, while *Charles* entered at the South: But the Czar learning the same Day, by a *Polish* Defector, to what a small Number of Men he had quitted the Town, and that the Body of the *Swedish* Troops were five Leagues Distance, he lost no Time, but sent a Detachment of 2000 Men, to surprize the King that Evening in the Town. These Men, by the Favour of the Night, advanced undisturbed as far as the first *Swedish* Guard, consisting only of 30 Men, who sustained the Effort of these 2000, till trole in the Town were put in a Posture to receive them: Then, being animated by the King of *Sweden*, they forced the *Russians* to retire.

The Czar gave Orders to his Troops to rendezvous in the *Palatinate* of *Mingli*, and seeing his Enemy in full March to pursue him, he thought it proper to draw him to a Place where he would have neither Magazines nor Retreat, and where he might wait for him behind good Ground, to attack him with Advantage, when he was weary and fatigued and exhausted. His Majesty therefore took his Rout to the *Borysbhenes*, with Design to intrench himself between *Mohilow* and *Orsa*, from whence he might have a secure Retreat to *Smolensko*. Hereupon the King of *Sweden*, informed of the Condition of the *Russian* Army, and the Rout they had taken, undertook to intercept them in their March. But the

Manage-

Management of the Czar obliged him to change his Rout again, and confined him for some Time in the *Palatinate* of *Vilna*. Mean while his Czarish Majesty sent General *Baur* to lay the *Polish* *Livonia* waste, from whence he went into *Swedish* *Livonia*, where he pillaged every Place, and remained Master of the *Duna*, notwithstanding the Neighbourhood of *Lewwenbaupt*. General *Goltz* had Orders to go with 15,000 Men to *Volbunia*, to join 12,000 *Volsques* and *Cossacks*, that they might take the *Swedens* in the Flank in their Motions. He had likewise Orders to destroy the Country for 30 Miles round, and to retreat beyond the *Borysbhenes*, where the Czar would give the Inhabitants other Lands to inhabit. These Measures were attended with good Success; for the *Swedens* were obliged to canton their Army, and encamp till May, for want of Necessaries; besides which, altho' no Battle was fought, their Numbers were very much diminished, by their fatiguing Marches. His Czarish Majesty passed the *Borysbhenes* with his Army, which was considerably augmented in a Camp where every Thing abounded. A Body of Troops between *Witopsk* and *Kopis* maintained the Communication with the Detachments spread over the Country. His Majesty, who had been for some Time at *Polock*, resolved to go to *Petersburgh* to hasten the Armament of his Fleet: But falling ill at the very Instant he was setting out, he was forced to be transported to *Smolensko*, leaving the Directions of all the Operations to his Generals. One may judge of the Condition to which the Czar had raised his Marine, since he had been in Possession of *Narva* and *Petersburgh*. The *Swedish* Fleet, commanded by Admiral *Wachtmeister*, consisted of 36 Men of War, carrying from 68 to 32 Guns apiece, besides 6 Bomb Vessels and 5 Fire Ships: Nevertheless they dared not venture upon an Action with that of the Czar, which remained all the while of the *Baltick* Sea, the *Batnick* Gulf, and the *Finland*. The Town of *Borgo* in *Nyland* was taken, where all the old Men were put to the Sword, the young ones carried away, and the Town burnt to the Ground. *Biornoe* and some other Islands had the same Fate; and a great Number of Barks, laden with

Pro-

Provisions for Stockholm, were taken and carried to Petersburg.

As soon as the Czar began to recover, he was obliged to go to Moscow, to appease a new Sedition among the *Don Cossacks*, raised by *Condrafchka Bolawin*, who at the Head of 5000 Men had formed a Design of surprizing *Asoph*, and, to secure Success, had demanded a Supply from the *Porte* and the *Cham of Tartary*, who, thinking the Enterprize ridiculous, would have no Hand in it. The Czar sent 20,000 Men under Prince *Dolgoruki*, to force the Rebels to Submission. But some among them going about to take their Leader, he shot himself with a Pistol, and they carried his Body to the Governor of *Asoph*, who ordered his Head to be taken off, and his Quarters to be set up upon the four Gates of the City. This News saved the Czar a great Expence, and enabled him to employ his 20,000 Men, under the Command of Prince *Dolgoruki*, elsewhere. But as the Nation in general was discontented with the long War, his Majesty was obliged to maintain his Troops in different Parts of the Country, which might otherwise have largely augmented his Army. After having put every Thing in Order, he returned to *Smolensko*, where he arrived just as an Action had passed between a Body of his Troops, and the best Part of the King of Sweden's Army.

Charles XII. hearing that the Hettman *Mazepa* was on the March with 25,000 Men to join the *Russian* Army; that the Great General *Siniauski* was also in Motion, and that another Body of between 15 and 20,000 *Russians* were moving from another Part, he resolved to attack these different Bodies before they could join, or at least to prevent their having any Communication. On the 25th of June, 1708, before the River *Berezine*, he found the *Russians* under General *Goltz*, to the Number of between 12 and 15,000; encamped to dispute that Passage with him; which however he succeeded in, by one of those Feints which were so usual with him. Thus surmounting all Difficulties, he arrived at the Neighbourhood of *Holowzin*, a Town on the River *Wabitz*, which the *Muscovites* abandoned, and, having broke the Bridge after them, joined a Body of their Troops on the other Side that River. They had a

Wood

Wood in the Rear, and their Intrenchments were defended by several Pieces of Cannon. There was a large Ditch behind them, and the River was difficult to pass. The King of Sweden viewed the Ground, and caused his Artillery to march in the Night, a Quarter of a League on the Right, where he had observed a Post, from whence they might fire into the *Russian* Intrenchments on their Left; and that there was a pretty large Opening between the Right and Left; their Generals thinking that Place unpassable, because of a Morass that extended to a very thick Wood. The King of Sweden came at three in the Morning to the Banks of the River, with 5 Regiments, and soon after Part of the Cavalry, and then began to cannonade the *Russian* Camp with so much Success, that such of their Battalions as were most exposed, were obliged to quit their Post: Whereupon the King encouraged his Troops to follow him, and flung himself into the River, which he passed, the Water being up to his Armpits. He was followed with Zeal by the Soldiers, who carried their Arms over their Heads, to keep them from being wet: But the Ground on the other Side being marshy, it was impossible for them to keep their Ranks. In the mean Time the *Muscovites* turned all their Cannon against them; but in Spite of their Fire, and the Difficulty of the Ground, the *Swedes* got over the Morass, and posted themselves between the two Wings of the *Muscovite* Army. This obliged General *Goltz* to withdraw his Infantry from their Camp, and post it at the Entrance into the Wood, whither the King of Sweden followed him with his Regiment of Guards, ordering the rest of the Troops to join him as they should pass the Morass, and attacked the Enemy with a terrible Fire, between 4 and 5 in the Morning. The King of Sweden was on Horseback in the Beginning of this Action; but Captain *Gyllenstiern*, a young *Swede* whom he had a great Esteem for, being wounded and not able to march, the King gave him his own Horse, and fought during the rest of the Action on Foot at the Head of his Guards. The Engagement lasted 4 Hours, with great Slaughter, and great Bravery shewn on both Sides: But the *Muscovites* were at last obliged to retire, and leave the King of Sweden Master of the Field, and of several

several Pieces of Cannon. This is said to be the most glorious Battle the King of Sweden had ever fought, and that wherein he shewed the greatest Skill, and was exposed to the greatest Dangers. He forced the *Muskovites* to repass the *Borysthene*, and staid some Time about *Mobilow*, the last Town in *Poland*, as well to refresh his Army, as to consult what Measures were to be taken in an unknown Country, into which he was just upon entering, with a Design to pursue the *Muskovites* even to their Capital. The Czar, as hath been related, arrived in his Army two Days after this Action, and quitted it no more till he had entirely defeated the King of Sweden; who now, finding his Army much weakened, sent Orders to General *Leuvenhaupt* in *Courland* to come and join him, who accordingly assembling all his Troops, and drawing the Garrisons out of all the Towns, made up a Body of 20,000 Men, which were followed by 7000 Waggon; laden with Ammunition and Provisions. The General made great Expedition, but was much harrassed in his March by General *Baur*, who was in *Lithonia* with 5 or 6000 Men, and took some of his Waggon, and many of his Men.

The King of Sweden, impatient that these Succours did not come up, and every Thing being so consumed, that a Bushel of Wheat was sold for ten Rix-Dollars, resolved to pass the *Borysthene*. It was here the Czar waited for him, pleased to see his Enemy on that Side the River, in a Country where he was neither to hope for Succours, or a safe Retreat. He judged it not advisable to come to a general Engagement, in which if he had been unsuccessful, he must have given his Enemy an Entrance into the very Bosom of his Dominions: But resolved to make War like the *Cossacks*, that is, by dividing his Troops into many Bodies, attacking him every where, and every where retreating and wasting the Country, where the Enemy designed to pursue him. It was thus the *Russians* continually harrassed the *Swedish* Army, often coming to Blows with them, and frequently with Advantage. At the Passage of *Czarnanapata*, there was a Rencontre, sharp and bloody, between the Troops commanded by Prince *Galiczin*, and six of the best Regiments of the *Swedish* Army, under Major General

neral *Rosen*, whom the King of Sweden had detached, to be posted on the Banks of that River, at a Place covered with a little Morass, where he designed to attempt the Passage. Prince *Galiczin*, with 8 Battalions and 3 Squadrons, who had been obliged to dismount, by reason of the Badness of the Way, passed the River, being favoured by a thick Fog, that prevented their being discovered. They kept firm, and the Skirmish was sharp on both Sides, till the Fog being dissipated, shewed the Swedes that they were environed on all Sides, which obliged them to retreat fighting. The *Russians* following, took from them 6 Colours and two Standards, The Czar was so well satisfied with what Prince *Galiczin* had done, that he gave him the Order of St. *Andrew*. The *Russians* had about 600 Men killed, and 1000 wounded; but the Enemy lost a far greater Number. When the other *Swedish* Troops saw these Regiments, which were looked upon as the best in their Army, return in such Disorder, they began to think they were not invincible; and that, to their own Cost, they had learned the *Russians* the Art of War. A few Days after, the *Cossacks* and *Russian Calmucks*, supported by 7000 Dragoons, fell upon the Baggage of the left Wing of the Swedes, over which they obtained some slight Advantage: Two Aides de Camp were killed near the King's Person: He himself had a Horse shot under him; and while one of his Equeries was presenting him with another, both the Equery and the Horse were shot on the Spot. Many of his Officers, who came to his Relief, were killed or taken Prisoners, and only five left near him, when, fighting on Foot, and half spent with Fatigue, he was disengaged by Colonel *Dardot*, who broke through the *Calmucks* to rescue him. Mangled these Obstacles, *Charles* advanced almost as far as *Smolentko*, in the Road to the Capital of *Muscovy*, where he hoped to meet with as many Adherents, and as much Provision as in *Poland*: But being deceived in these, he found his Design of marching to *Moscow* at present impracticable, tho' he thought it at first no Difficulty to perform. For when the Czar, to prevent his Country's being made the Seat of War, had before this sent him Proposals of Peace, he received

this haughty Answer; That he would treat with his Brother Peter at Moscow. Finding, however, so much Difficulty in this Undertaking, he turned on a sudden towards the *Ukrain*, where he thought he should be able to support his Troops by the Assistance of the *Hettman Mazzeppa*, who had entered into a private Treaty with him, and designed to revolt from the Czar, in revenge for an Affront he put upon him at his Table, by calling him Traitor, for having opposed a Proposal made by his Majesty, to bring the *Cossacks* under more Subjection. *Mazzeppa* resented this so strongly, that he engaged himself to bring over 30,000 Men to the King of *Sweden*, and assured him, by his Favourite *Bisniski*, that the People of the *Ukrain* were so much discontented with the Czar, that they would readily afford any Assistance to oppose him.

The Czar, who knew nothing of this intended Revolt, being informed that the King of *Sweden* had left a Body of his Forces in *Poland*, and had ordered *Lewwenhaupt* to leave *Livonia* and *Courland*, and join his own Army, thought it absolutely necessary, if possible, to prevent this Conjunction. Believing that *Lewwenhaupt's* Troops were not above 8 or 9000 Men, he put himself at the Head of his Guards, consisting of 7000, whom he caused to mount on Horseback, and with some Regiments of Dragoons marched in Person to meet him. *Lewwenhaupt* had passed the *Borysthene*s, and was continuing his March about 3 Leagues beyond *Mobilow*, when his Czarish Majesty, with Prince *Menzikoff*, and General *Goltz*, came to an Action with him on the 7th of *October*, in which 1500 *Muscovites* were killed, and very few of the *Swedes*. The latter, in all Appearance, would have gained a complete Victory, had not the Czar, when he saw his Troops begin to fall back, ran to the *Cossacks* and *Calmuks*, posted in the Rear of the Army, and ordered them to fire on all those who should offer to run away. In this Manner above 50 *Muscovites* being killed, the Army, which was already in great Confusion, stopped. General *Lewwenhaupt* seeing the *Muscovites* begin to rally, thought fit to continue his March towards the King: But this was of too much Consequence

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sequence for the Czar to suffer, if he could possibly prevent it.

The next Day the Czar had again Sight of the Enemy on the Banks of the River *Pronia*; and the Enemy made as if they would oppose his Passage; but no sooner were 7 Field Pieces brought up to cannonade them, then they struck off towards the Village of *Lezno*. About 4 in the Morning, the Army began to march, and about 9, at some Distance from *Lezno*, met the Enemy, who had sent some Parties before for Intelligence. *Lewwenhaupt* was no sooner informed of the Approach of the *Russians*, than he drew up his Army in Order of Battle; causing two Batalions to advance 1000 Paces before his Camp, to dispute their Passage through a small Morass. Upon this the Czar gave order to Prince *Menzikoff*, to send Colonel *Campbel*, with his Dragoons dismounted, to attack the Enemy's two Batalions, who made so quick a Fire upon the *Russians*, that they had hardly Time to form themselves in Order of Battle. These dismounted Dragoons having stood the Fire for some Time, the Czar caused them to be supported by 4 Batalions of his Guards, and 2 of *Ingria*, who pouring in their Shot upon the 2 *Swedish* Batalions, killed above half of them, and gained the Passage. General *Lewwenhaupt*, perceiving his Van-Guard was beaten, caused his Army to move up, to prevent the *Russians* drawing up in Batalia. Then his Czarish Majesty, observing that the Enemy's Line extended wider than his, immediately caused several Regiments to strengthen his Wings. These Dispositions being made by about 11 a-clock, the Signal for attacking was given by a general Discharge of all the Artillery. The Enemy began to advance with great Fierceness and Resolution; and the Fight being hot and obstinate for above an Hour and a half, Victory hung in suspense. During the terrible Fire which was every where made, his Czarish Majesty appeared in the Places of most Danger, to animate the Officers and Soldiers; and the Enemy observing how well the *Muscovites* acquitted themselves, under the Eye of their Monarch, began to give Ground; yet drew off in Order of Battle. The *Muscovites* then redoubled their Efforts, to improve that Advantage. The Enemy being driven back to their

their Baggage, Action was for some Time forborn on both Sides. About 3 o'Clock the Cannon of the *Russians* coming up, they began to play again. General *Baur* being within half a League of the Czar, with 4000 Men, thought fit to wait a little for his Arrival, which was about 4. He was obliged to endure the Fire of the Enemy's Artillery before he could join the Right, where he was to post himself. After this Junction, his Czarish Majesty ordered that neither the Right nor the Left should renew the Fight one without the other: But the left Wing having stood a good while without attacking, the Impatience of the Troops superseded that Order. The right Wing renewed the Attack likewise with the utmost Vigour. The Enemy seeing themselves repulsed, caused 2 Battalions and 10 Squadrons of their Reserve to charge the Right of the *Russians* in Flank: But they were so well received, and afterwards so closely pursued, that not above 50 Men of the 2 Battalions escaped. Upon this Advantage, the Left and the Centre pushed forwards amongst the Enemy's Waggon, breaking all their left Wing. On their Right *Leuvenhaupt*, rallying his Troops, faced the *Muscovites*, who were among their Waggon, and caused such a Fire to be made, as obliged them to retire: But the Centre and left Wing advanced at the same Time against the Enemy, who were obliged to face to the Right about, to make head against them. The Charge was renewed with greater Fury than before, both by the Horse and Foot; and their Fire, which the Enemy answered duly, did not cease till it was dark Night. Then his Czarish Majesty, considering the Difficulty of dislodging them from behind their Waggon, forbid the Officers on Pain of being cashiered, and the Soldiers of being hanged, to quit their Ranks to rifle the Dead: So the Army kept all Night under Arms, watching the Enemy. In the mean Time the Trophies of the Day were presented to his Majesty, consisting of 47 Colours and 10 Standards: And 16 Cannons which they had gained, were added to his Train of Artillery.

Thus they passed the Night, which was very cold. Towards the Morning they saw the Enemy kindle Fires about their Waggon; upon which the Czar ordered that

that Fires should be made in the Front of his right Line, and that his Men should hold themselves in a Readiness against Day-break. They marched towards the Enemy's Waggon, expecting to meet no less Resistance than before: But they found that *Leuvenhaupt* had made use of that Stratagem to cover his Flight, a abandoning all his Wounded to the *Muscovites*, as well as the 7000 Waggon loaded with Provisions. General *Pflug* was immediately ordered, with 1000 Grenadiers on Horseback, and 2000 Dragoons, to pursue and harass the flying Enemy. He had not marched above half a League, when he found the Remains of them in a Wood; and falling upon them, made a slaughter among them for a League and an half, to *Propouk*; where the rest of the Run-a-ways, to the Number of 3000, retired into the Church-yard. The General advancing here to force them, they made a Signal that they were desirous to capitulate; and he sent a Lieutenant Colonel, with 6 Grenadiers, to receive their Offers: But most of the *Swedish* Soldiers, being drunk with Brandy, would not agree to their Officers Propositions; and many of them firing, killed two of the *Russian* Grenadiers. The Lieutenant Colonel retiring, General *Pflug* resolved not to spare them. The *Muscovites* entered the Church-yard, and, Sword in Hand, killed all that resisted. A Party flying towards the River *Soxa*, General *Mikush* pursued them two Hours, and saw Count *Leuvenhaupt* swimming through the River among his Men: Whereupon he swam it with his Detachment, and coming to the other Side, most of the *Swedish* Officers begged Mercy, and he gave them Quarter; but caused the Soldiers to be put to the Sword, and then rejoined General *Pflug*. *Leuvenhaupt* passed the *Soxa*, and fled with a least 4000 Men, all that were saved from the Wreck of the Day. General *Reuschild*, with 8000 Dragoons, had just joined him, when General *Towerden* had fallen upon the Rear Guard, who made head against him, and obliged him to retire. The King of *Sweden* was then at *Strandus* on the *Derna*. His Czarish Majesty, after returning Thanks to Heaven for so complete a Victory, gave Orders to re-establish those Regiments which had

suffered the most, and repos'd himself for some Time at Zizirt.

The King of Sweden had nothing left now but to join *Mazeppa*. That *Cossack*, as I before observ'd, being resolv'd to desert the Czar, was charmed with the many Actions of *Charles XII.* whom he look'd upon as another *Alexander*. To bring the whole Army into his Design, he began with exaggerating all that they suffer'd from the *Russian* Ministers, prais'd their own Actions and Magnanimity, endeavour'd to shew them the Happiness of an independent Government; and lastly told them, what they might expect from that glorious young Hero, who was coming to deliver them from the Burthen they groan'd under. To give some Appearance of Justice to their Revolt, they agreed to send Remonstrances to the Czar against his Ministers; and for the Execution of this dangerous Commission, they nam'd *Warnarowski*, the *Hettman's* Nephew. The Czar, by this Time, was inform'd of the Conduct of *Mazeppa*; he knew also that his Favourite *Bisnisky* was with the King of Sweden. In the present State of Affairs, however, he judg'd it proper to disguise his Resentment, contenting himself to watch the *Cossacks* by the Army of Prince *Menzikoff*, who, pos'd himself advantageously between his Army and that of the *Swedes*: But when the Czar saw *Warnarowski*, instead of giving him Audience, he had him clapt up in Prison.

Mazeppa, inform'd of what had happen'd to his Nephew, doubt'd no longer that all his Intrigues were discover'd; and therefore, to save his Head, us'd his utmost Endeavours to join the *Swedish* Army. As *Velt-Marschal Czernietoff* was in *Novogorod* with a very strong Garrison, the King of Sweden found it no easy Matter to pass the *Dezna*; and *Mazeppa*, who thought all depended upon his delivering up to him *Batturin*, his Capital, made haste to cross that River, under Pretence of attacking a Body of *Swedes* that were on the opposite Banks. As soon as he was over, he discover'd to the Soldiers his Design, to which only the Officers as yet were privy. His Men, on the Instant, protest'd against any such Project, and retir'd; nay, some of them deliberated whether they ought not to arrest their General, so that he had only Time, with about 2000 Men,

to throw himself into the *Swedish* Camp at *Sersapaka*. Two of his Colonels had enter'd *Batturin*, with some thousand Men, to deliver up that City to the King of Sweden. The rest of the *Cossacks* went over to Prince *Menzikoff*, who immediately made himself Master of *Batturin*, which was order'd to be burnt to the Ground. A Council of War being convok'd, they pass'd Sentence on the *Hettman*, which his Czarish Majesty order'd to be put in Execution. An Herald tore his Patent of the Knighthood of St. *Andrew*, and threw the Pieces on the Ground; took from off a wooden Statue, made for the Occasion, the blue Ribbon and Medal of the Order, and then threw down the Statue. The Hangman came next, ty'd a Halter about the Neck of the Statue, and dragg'd it to the Place of Execution; where the Sentence against him was read aloud; and he thereby declar'd to be fallen from his Honours and Dignities, and to be condemn'd to be hanged. The Hangman tore in Pieces the Arms of his Family, broke the Scymitar, and hung the Statue on a Gibbet. This done, the principal *Cossack* repair'd to the great Church; and, after divine Service, they assembled in the Church-yard, and proceeded to the Election of a new *Hettman*, which fell upon *John Skorspatzky*, who was declar'd with the Acclamations of the Assembly. The new General, accompanied by a great Number of Officers, went immediately and prostrated himself at the Feet of the Czar, who confirm'd his Election.

About this Time an Affair happen'd in *London*, which had like to have creat'd a Misunderstanding between the Czar and the Queen of Great-Britain; the Ambassador of the former being arrest'd in the Street by one *Merton*, a Lace-Man in *Covent-Garden*, and other Trade-men, who had a Jealousy of his designing to leave the Kingdom without paying his Debts: But this Difference not being determin'd till some Time after, we shall refer the Account of it to the following Book, and return at present to the *Ukrain*. Here the King of Sweden was at a Distance from all Possibility of Relief, except from *Stanislaus* in *Poland*, who found too much Employment there, and knew too well the Hazard of marching into the *Ukrain*. In short, all Things now con-

spired to ruin the King of Sweden's Army. The Winter, which was a very remarkably cold one even in England, was so sharp in those Parts, that above 2000 of the Swedish Soldiers perished merely by the Extremity of the Weather. The greatest Part of the Troops were without Boots, Shoes, or Clothes, and very often all of them wanted Bread. But notwithstanding this Abatement of Charles's Strength, the Czar, at the Desire of some Swedish Prisoners, released an Officer upon his Parole, to endeavour once more to prevail upon him to agree to a Cartel for exchanging Prisoners, which was what he had obstinately refused during the whole War. The Counts Piper and Hermelin, considering the declining Condition of their Master's Affairs, charged the Swedish Officer, when he returned, to insinuate, that if proper Proposals of Peace were offered, the King of Sweden might listen to them: Which when his Czarish Majesty was told, he sent the same Officer back again, with a Letter from Count Golovin to Count Piper, and Proposals for an Accommodation on very moderate Terms. But Charles, whose Army was now reduced to 28,000 Men, absolutely refused to treat; renewed his Intentions of penetrating as far as *Moscow*, and, with this View, at the latter End of May, laid Siege to *Pultowa*, a Town upon the River *Vorsklat*, on the Eastern Borders of *Ukrania*. But neither the Valour of the Swedes, nor the Intelligence that *Mazeppa* had in the Town, could give him Success. Nor could he prevent *Menzikoff* from throwing Succours into the Place, which made the Garrison near 10,000 strong. With the Difficulties of the Undertaking the Resolution of the King of Sweden increased: He pressed the Siege warmly, and had already taken the Courtine, when he himself received a Wound in his Heel; and immediately after was told, that the Czar was coming up with an Army, at least double the Number of his own, consisting of fresh Troops well clothed and fed, and thoroughly experienced in the Art of War. His Wound prevented his assisting himself with the same Vigour that was usual to him: He found himself inclosed between the *Borjshenes* and the River of *Pultowa*, and hemmed in by a large Army. In this Extremity he sent for *Renschild* into his

Tent

Tent in the Night, and then with great Serenity gave him Orders to attack the Czar the next Morning. *Renschild*, though somewhat surpris'd at the Resolution, made no Reply, knowing it was in vain to dispute.

On the 27th of June, 1709, very early in the Morning, the Action between the two Armies began. About 25,000 Swedes came out of their Trenches, and march'd directly against the Czar's Army, which were then beginning to form their Camp. The Generals *Renschild*, *Larsson*, *Feld*, *Schlippenbach*, *Hoorn*, *Sparre*, *Hamman*, the Prince of *Wittenberg*, and others who had most of them been at the Battle of *Narva*, put their Subalterns and Soldiers in Mind of that Day, when 8000 Swedes had overcome 100,000 Muscovites in their Intrenchments. The King, on Account of his Wound, was obliged to be carried in a Litter at the Head of his Foot. The Swedish Horse fell upon the Enemy's Squadrons with their wonted Fury; and the Muscovites fell back in some Disorder. The Czar himself, running to rally them, had his Hat shot through, and Prince *Menzikoff* had no less than three Horses killed under him. Upon this Charles made no doubt but the Battle would be gained, especially if General *Creutz*, whom he had detached with 5000 Men, had fallen upon the Enemy's Flank; but *Creutz* went out of the Way, and march'd off. The Czar had now Time to rally his Horse, with which he fell upon the King's Cavalry in his Turn, and that, not being supported by *Creutz*, was broken, and *Schlippenbach* taken in the Engagement. The Russian, opening from their Lines, advanced to attack the Swedish Infantry, 72 Pieces of Cannon playing upon them at the same Time. The Swedish Artillery was only 4 indifferent Mortar Pieces, they having left the rest in their Camp, with about 3000 Men. The Czar, with an extraordinary Prefence of Mind, detached Prince *Menzikoff* to post himself between *Pultowa* and the Swedes: By which Means he cut off all Communication between the Troops in the Camp and the rest of the Swedish Army. And *Menzikoff* afterwards meeting with the 3000 Men which were a *Corps de Reserve*, he surrounded and cut them to Pieces.

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When

When the *Muscovite* Foot were come out of their Lines, the Czar was in the Center of his Army. He had yet no higher Title than Major General; but on this Occasion, he went from Rank to Rank, to encourage his Men, and promise them Rewards. *Charles*, on his Side, by the Assistance of General *Renchild*, put his Army in the best Disposition he could: He endeavoured to fit his Horse, but finding himself unable, got into his Litter again. The Battle was renewed about 9 o'Clock, and almost at the Beginning of it, the King of *Sweden's* Litter was shattered to Pieces with a Cannon Ball, and he himself overturned. When the *Swedes* saw their King fall, they immediately gave way, and all were put to the Sword. A single Line of 10,000 *Muscovites* now routed the *Swedish* Army; and this one Action lost the redoubted *Charles XII.* the Fruits of 9 glorious Campaigns, and the Title of *Invincible*. He would, if he had been able, have rallied some of his Regiments; but the *Muscovites* pursued them too closely. The Generals *Renchild*, *Hamilton*, and *Stakelberg* were taken Prisoners already, with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*. All was in Confusion; the Camp was forced; Count *Piper*, and most of the Officers of the Chancery had quitted it, and knew not what was become of their King, but wandered about till they were all taken.

The very same Day the Battle was fought, the Czar wrote an Account of it himself to the Velt-Mareschal *Galen*. Towards the End of his Letter, his Majesty expresses himself thus: "To say all in a Word, the Enemy's whole Army has had the Fate of *Phaeton*. We do not know yet what is become of the Person of the King of *Sweden*, or whether he is living, or with our Fathers deceased." But when his Majesty was told that the King of *Sweden's* Litter was found, all broken to Pieces, he expressed an extraordinary Concern for the Fate of that Prince, whose Bravery he always admired, and ordered that his Body should be fought for among the Dead. *Charles*, tho' no way able to defend himself, was yet unwilling to fly, till persuaded by *Mullern* his Chancellor to cross the *Borjibenes*, and go to *Turky*. But before he listened to this Advice, he was willing, for the first Time, to try what might be effect-

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ed by Negotiation; and therefore, between his own Defeat and the Surrender of the Forces at *Perevoloczna*, he sent Major General *Meyerfeldt* to his Czarish Majesty, to let him know, That he would accept of the Peace which he had several Times offered him, and if that was refused, he desired to go freely out of his Country, and retire into *Poland*. The Czar, surprized at this Language, answered, That the King of *Sweden* had thought too late of coming into the Treaty of Peace, several Articles of which were now to be altered: And that, as he had penetrated into his Country, without considering the Consequences, it was his Business at present to think which Way he should get out of it. But that, far from setting them at Liberty, he should forthwith send to take the Birds that were caught in his Net. A Trumpet was charged with this Answer; but *Meyerfeldt* was put under arrest, not only for coming without a Passport, but as he was before taken Prisoner, and enlarged only on a Condition which was not complied with.

Charles, finding that this pretended Moderation had no Effect on the Czar, prepared to follow the Advice of his Chancellor. He was obliged, on Account of his Wound, to go in a Coach that had belonged to General *Meyerfeldt*, drawn by 12 Horses. Having wandered about with his few People, and fasted so long that they were in Danger of perishing, they at last arrived on the Northern Side of the *Bog*, about a League from *Cracow*; from whence the King sent to the Bashaw of the Place, to make his Compliments, and desire Leave to pass through the *Ottoman* Territories under his Government. The Bashaw, with great Civility, made him an Offer of Refreshments, and gave Orders, that all the Boats that could be met with should be got together for the King's and his People's Passage. There not being a sufficient Number of Boats to carry them all, about 500 Men were left on that Side the River, who were soon after taken Prisoners by General *Walkowisky*, even in Sight of the King of *Sweden*, just landed on the other Side. The Czar had sent this General in Pursuit of the *Swedes*, and, having now learnt what was become of the King, did not much doubt of his being brought Prisoner with the rest:

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For he was pleased to say to the *Swedish* Generals who were his Prisoners, *That he wanted his Brother Charles to keep them Company; but he had sent Walkowsky to fetch him.*

As soon as Prince *Menzikoff* came within Sight of *Perewoloczna*, where General *Leuvenhaupt* was encamped with the *Swedish* Troops that had escaped the Battle, he summoned him to lay down his Arms, or expect no Quarter. The General, seeing no possible Means of retreating, and having the King's Orders not to drive Things to the last Extremity, sent Major General *Creutz*, Colonel *Duker*, Lieutenant Colonel *Trausfetter*, and Adjutant General *Douglas*, to endeavour to obtain some advantageous Terms, and especially to take care of the Sick and Wounded that were with him. These Officers executed their Commission so well, that the *Russian* General concluded with them the following Capitulation: That all the *Swedish* Troops, who are commanded by Count *Leuvenhaupt*, as well Officers as Soldiers, should, with their Servants, yield themselves Prisoners of War. That all private Soldiers should lay down their Arms, and remain Prisoners of War till their Exchange or Ransom; but they should keep their Mounting, and their Horses, except those belonging to the Officers. That all the General and other Officers should keep their Baggage and Equipages, and their Persons should be released without Ransom or Exchange, as soon as Peace should be made between the Czar and the King of *Sweden*: In the mean Time they should be honourably used, and permitted to go to their own Country, on their Parole. That the *Swedish* Artillery, Ammunition, Colours, Standards, and Instruments of Musick, should be delivered to his Czarish Majesty; as should likewise the Military Chest of the King of *Sweden*, in the State it now is. That the *Zaporogians*, and other Rebels, now among the Troops of *Sweden*, should be deliver'd to his Czarish Majesty. That all the Officers should not only retain their Baggage, but likewise their Servants; and the Commissaries, Auditors, Secretaries, Chaplains, and Surgeons, should likewise be permitted to keep their Baggage and Servants.

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When his Czarish Majesty was informed of the King of *Sweden*'s having passed the *Borysbenez*, he wrote another Letter to General *Goltz*, then in the *Vollinia*, where he commanded 20,000 Men, with Orders to intercept and take Prisoner the vanquished Monarch. At the same Time the King of *Sweden* dispatched a Letter to General *Crassau*, wherein, after having informed him of his Disaster, he commanded him to leave *Poland*, and save his Troops in the best Manner he could.

The Czar, being informed by Prince *Menzikoff* of the good Success he had at *Perewoloczna*, went himself to that Place, where he arrived at the very Instant that the beforementioned Capitulation was executed. The Fate of so many unhappy Men touched him very sensibly, and he more than once expressed his Disapprobation of the Conduct of a Prince, who could sacrifice in such a Manner, so many faithful Subjects, of whom he ought to have been the Father and Protector. The greatest Part of the *Swedish* Prisoners were dispersed in the Czar's Dominions, and great Numbers sent to *Siberia*, which Country received great Improvements from their inhabiting there, and setting up divers Trades and Manufactures for their Support. As for the Officers, his Czarish Majesty entertained them with great Civility, and treating some of them at his own Table with that Affability that was so natural to him, he drank a Health to his Masters in the Art of War. *Renchild* asked who those were that his Majesty was pleased to honour with so great a Title? "It is yourselves Gentlemen, the *Swedish* Generals," replied the Czar. "Then, said *Renchild*, is not your Majesty a little ungrateful, to treat your Matters so severely?" Upon which his Majesty ordered all their Swords to be returned to them. His Majesty had desired to know of *Renchild* what Number of Men he thought the King of *Sweden* could have brought into the Field; and upon *Renchild*'s telling him, about 19,000 *Swedes*, and 11,000 *Cossacks*; How was it possible, said he, that a Prince so prudent as the King of *Sweden*, could venture himself with such a Handful of Men in a strange Country, and especially such a one as this? To which *Renchild* answered, that he and the other Generals were not always consulted about the Operations of the War, but thought themselves obliged,

obliged, as faithful Subjects, to obey their King without any Contradiction. This Expression of Duty pleased the Czar so much, that taking his Sword from his own Side, he presented it to *Renschild*. His Czarish Majesty likewise shewed a great Regard for Count *Piper*; and that none of the Prisoners of Distinction might want any Thing, he divided them among his Generals.

His Majesty thought next how he should reward the Valour and good Conduct of his own Officers; on which Account he made several very considerable Promotions: Prince *Menzikoff* was made Velt-Mareschal General, Count *Golefskin* Grand Chancellor, *Ronne* Chief General, Baron *Schafiroff* Vice Chancellor; the Princes *Repnin* and *Gregory Dolgoruki* had the blue Ribbon of the Order of St. *Andrew*. The other Officers were advanced in Proportion to their Rank and Services, and his Majesty ordered proper Rewards to all the Soldiers. Among all these Promotions he did not forget himself: Alledging at this Time, as Proofs of his Valour, that he had taken a *Swedish* General Prisoner in the Heat of the Engagement, and had a Ball shot through his Hat, he was made a Major General. The rebel *Cossacks* came to him to make their Submission, and he was pleased to grant them his Pardon, on Condition that they laid down their Arms, and that Quarter should be given to none of them found under Arms in that Campaign. At the same Time he promised a Reward of 10,000 Roubles, to whoever should bring in old *Mazepa* dead or alive.

It is easy to imagine how this important News was received at *Moscow*. The *Czarowitz* ordered Feasts and publick Rejoicings, in which all the foreign Ministers and all the People had Part; and, in Hopes that his Czarish Majesty would soon visit his Capital, 30 triumphal Arches were erected in the Streets, through which it was supposed he would pass: But Affairs of great Moment called him elsewhere. He took Care, however, as soon as possible, to acquaint the Emperor of *Germany*, the King of *Prussia*, King *Augustus*, the States of *Holland*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, with this great Success of his Arms. And I cannot better conclude this First Book of his History, than at a Period which shews him in so glorious a Light, as the Conqueror of a Prince who had made himself formidable to all the Powers in *Europe*.

THE



THE
HISTORY
OF
PETER The Great,
CZAR of MUSCOVY.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

The Czar offers Peace, which Charles rejects. Augustus returns into Poland. His Interview with the Czar at Thorn. The Czar meets the King of Prussia at Marienwerder. Riga bombarded. The Czar's Entry into Moscow. Satisfaction made for the Affront offered his Ambassador in London. The present Czarina married to the Duke of Courland, Elbing, Wybourg, Riga, Dunamunden-Skantz, Pernau, Kexholm, Revel, and the whole Province of Livonia, reduced to the Obedience of the Czar.



PETER the Great, who sought not to found his Empire in Blood, but to cultivate the Arts of Peace for the Prosperity and Happiness of his People, enlarged Major-General *Meyerfeldt* soon after the Victory of *Poltowa*, with Permission to go to the King his Master, and sent *Cederhielm*, *Charles's* Secretary, to the Senate at *Stockholm*, with very moderate

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rate Proposals for a Treaty. Count *Piper* at the same Time wrote Letters to the King on that Subject. The Czar insisted only on the Province of *Ingria*, and Part of that of *Carelia*, which were already conquered, as a Satisfaction for the Expences of the War. The Fortrefs of *Wybourg*, and the Town of *Revel*, were likewise demanded, but only with an Intention to be able to abate something during the Negotiation. But the King of *Sweden*, distressed as he was, still retaining his high Spirit, wrote a Letter to Count *Piper*, in which he called these Proposals, *The impudent Pretensions of a forsworn Enemy*; and ordered *Piper*, in the Style of a Conqueror, to take proper Measures that the Czar might set all his Prisoners at Liberty; notwithstanding he himself could never, before this Time, be prevailed upon to establish a Cartel for that Purpose; tho' the Czar had taken much Pains about it.

His Czarish Majesty, finding that no Peace was to be made with this implacable Enemy, but by the Force of Arms, thought it would be most effectual to carry the War into the King of *Sweden's* own Dominions; and gave fresh Orders to his Ministers at the Courts of *Denmark* and *Saxony*, to use their utmost Endeavours to bring the Negotiations to a Conclusion for an Alliance against that Prince. He knew his own Presence would be necessary in *Poland*, and therefore crossed the *Boryshenes*; but, from the Fatigues he had lately undergone, he fell sick at *Kiow*, and was obliged to stop there for some Relief.

The Victory at *Pultowa* was so extraordinary, that it was not believed for some Time on the other Side the *Vistula*; but when it was no longer doubted, the Prime *Szenbeck*, and others, who had retired out of the Kingdom, held several Conferences, and sent a Deputation to King *Augustus*, to desire he would re-ascend the Throne. He was with little Difficulty brought to accept an Invitation of that Kind, having before resolved to make an Attempt to recover his Crown, seeing the Disorders of the *Swedish* Affairs, even before the Defeat of their Army. In order to which he had several Conferences with the King of *Denmark*, who in his Return from *Italy*, paid him a Visit at *Dresden*, from whence they

they went together to *Berlin*, where the 3 Kings concerted all Things relating to the Return of *Augustus*. Before that Monarch entered *Poland*, he published a long *Manifesto*, drawn up in Concert with the Czar's Plenipotentiaries; wherein he makes his coming back to the Throne a Point of Conscience, and vindicates the Constancy and Friendship of the Czar, as much as he exposes the Ambition, Obstinacy, and Tyranny of the King of *Sweden*. He gives the Reasons likewise of his own Conduct, particularly with relation to the famous Treaty of *Alt-Ransstadt*, and what followed upon it, which so amazed all *Europe*, and so highly incensed the Czar. But his *Russian* Majesty, by this Time, was so well satisfied of the Necessity of *Augustus's* Affairs, which drove him to accept of any Terms for the Preservation of his People, that he was again united to him in Friendship. And now, during his own Illness at *Kiow*, he sent some Regiments into *Poland*, to join General *Goltz*, and ordered others to march to *Riga*, and block up that Place. On his Recovery, which was soon, he set out himself to execute his Designs; and learned on the Road, that Major General *Craffau* and King *Stanislaus*, upon the News of the Defeat of the *Swedish* Army, had presently retired to the Frontiers of *Pomerania*. The Czar arrived at *Lublin* on the 5th of *September*, 1709, with the Hereditary Prince, and many Persons of Distinction; and the same Evening, the Princes *Menzikoff*, *Golowin*, and *Dolgoruki*, the Sieur *Oginski* Velt-Mareschal of *Lithuania*, and several other Generals arrived in the same Town; as did the next Day Velt-Mareschal *Goltz*, having left his Army at a small Distance on the other Side the River, where the Czar the next Day reviewed it. His Majesty held a Council here, when 1000 Dragoons were ordered to be detached to go towards *Warsaw*, to secure some Posts on the Road, and 400 more were sent to take a Post on the *Vistula*. From hence his Majesty thought proper to publish a Declaration, in order to second the King's Manifesto, summoning all those of the adverse Party, to come in and unite themselves with the Republick and their lawful Sovereign, within the Space of four Weeks,

Augustus now passed the Oder, in his Way to Thorn, a Town in Royal Prussia, but under the Protection of the Poles, where a grand Council was assembling, and where the Czar had agreed to have an Interview with him. The Troops of his Czarish Majesty being divided, took the Routes of Lithuania and Livonia, and he himself approaching Thorn on the 8th of October, with a numerous Train, King Augustus went about half a League up the Vistula, to meet his Restorer. The Czar went into the King's Yacht, and the King complimented him on the glorious Victory he had gained. The Czar solicited the King on his Return, without any Reproaches on the Affair of *Alt-Ranslade*, or any other: For these Augustus had taken Care to prevent, by the Manner in which he treated the Russian Plenipotentiaries, and the Reasons which he alleged in his Manifesto. Their Majesties being landed, the Czar received the Compliments of the Magistrates, and after having returned them an Answer by Chancellor *Golowin*, went with Augustus to the House that was prepared for him, thro' the continual Acclamations of the People. The Saxon Ministers afterwards made their Compliments, and assured his Czarish Majesty, that they had always made their Vows to Heaven for the Success of his Arms; but had never dared to hope it would have been so complete. To which he answered; *Your Vows, Gentlemen, were proportioned to the Weakness of Men; but God has given me a Victory which shows his own Omnipotence.*

The Grandees of Poland likewise sent a Deputation to Thorn, to congratulate him, in the Name of the Republick, on the total Defeat of his Enemy. To whom he made Answer, "That no body had gained more by the Blessing which God had bestowed on his Arms, than the Republick, since by that they had their lawful King restored to them." The Senators then proposed, "That his Majesty should leave but 12,000 Men in Poland, because the Country was so ruined, that it could not maintain a greater Number: That the Russians should give an Account to the Proprietors of the Management of their Estates, which they had seized: That his Majesty should restore to the Republick their Fortresses in the Polish Ukrain; and that he should set Prince *Weisnowolsky* at Liberty, whom he had imprisoned, with others;"

thers;" who deserting the Confederation of *Sandomir*, to embrace the Party of *Stanislaus*, had been the Occasion of many of those Evils which the Confederates had since suffered. His Czarish Majesty only answered, *That the Laws of their Kingdom would not permit of any Foreign Power to intermeddle with their Domestic Affairs*: But made no Reply to the Proposition of restoring the Places in the *Ukrain*, which in effect he had conquer'd by driving the *Swedens* out of that Province.

The first Days of the Meeting between Peter and Augustus were spent in Feasting and Rejoicing, during which Time the Czar appeared with a Sword by his Side, which Augustus had presented to the King of Sweden in Saxony, and which was found among the Baggage of that Prince, after the Battle of that *Pultowa*. The Czar went all over the City on Foot, visiting every Place of Note, particularly the Church of the Jesuits. When the two Monarchs had taken those Measures they thought proper at Thorn, they parted, Augustus to return into Saxony, and the Czar to meet the King of Prussia at *Marienwerder*; who being arrived in that Town first, through very bad Roads, when he was informed that the Czar was coming down the *Vistula*, he went about half a Mile out of the Town, and received him at his Landing, giving him the upper Hand, and expressing all imaginable Respect. The two Princes got into the same Coach, in which sat also *M. Keyserling*, Envoy of the King of Prussia, and proceeded to the Castle, the Garrison and Burghers being on their Arms, and saluting them with three Salvoes. Prince *Menzikoff* and Count *Wartemburg* followed, and after them the chief Officers of both Monarchs, who dined together. They had some Conferences by themselves, and afterwards held a Council with their chief Ministers, in which was confirmed the Alliance before projected. Another Negotiation was likewise concluded here in favour of the King of Prussia, by which the Duke of *Courland*, his Nephew, had his Dutchy restored to him, upon an Agreement of Marriage with the Czar's Niece.

The Czar left *Marienwerder* on the 5th of November, to go to *Mittau*, in order to join his Generals, and regulate the Operations of his Troops. Velt-Mareschal Czere-

Czeremetoff arrived about this Time, near *Polocksk*, with 52,000 Men. His Vanguard, consisting of 7000, were advanced as far as *Mittaw*; upon whose Approach, General *Stromberg*, who commanded in *Riga*, recalled the *Swedish* Troops that were in *Courland*, whose Place was immediately taken by the *Muscovite* Lieutenant General *Allard*. The *Russian* Troops, which consisted of 120,000 Men in the whole, were capable of undertaking the most difficult Conquests, under so many experienced Generals as they then had, commanded in Chief by Prince *Menzikoff*. Sixty-three Mortars, 300 Pieces of large Cannon, and 60,000 Bombs followed this Army, ordered to rendezvous before *Riga*, the Magazine of *Sweden*, and its Bulwark on the *Baltick Sea*. General *Stromberg*, seeing himself surrounded by them on all Sides, began to burn the Suburbs, and demolish Fort *Kobber*; but before that he published a Kind of *Universal*, filled with Complaints of the Outrages of the *Muscovites*, and enjoining the Subjects of his Master not to put themselves under the Czar's Protection, but to oppose his Forces with all their Might. This Piece was answered by Velt-Marschal *Czeremetoff*, who charges the Author of it with Arrogance, denies the Accusations it contains, and retorts them on the *Swedes*; concluding with these Words: "If the Governor expresses himself more modestly hereafter, I shall imitate his Style."

When the Czar was arrived at *Mittaw*, he gave Ear to the Complaints of the *Courlanders*, and greatly moderated the Contributions which his Generals had levied upon them. On the 21st of *November* he went to his Army, and on the 25th came before *Riga*, where every Thing was ready for bombarding it, and his Majesty himself set fire to the first Bomb. The Magistracy sent out their Deputies, to divert, if possible, this Storm; but to no Purpose. The Czar continued but a short Time in this Place, where no Honour was to be acquired: His Subjects impatiently expected him at *Moscow*, whither an infinite Number of Foreigners were come to honour his Triumph. He therefore hastened his Journey thither, but took *Petersburgh* in his Way, where he gave Orders for the fitting out of such Ships as were to serve in the ensuing Campaign, and for the forming such Magazines

at *Narva*, as he judged necessary to carry on the Siege of *Riga*. His Majesty also made very considerable Remittances to the King of *Denmark*, to enable him to push on the War against *Sweden* vigorously on that Side.

On the 11th of *December*, attended by Admiral *Apraxin*, and several of the Nobility, he arrived at a Country-Seat called *Kolomski*, about 5 *English* Miles distant from *Moscow*. Prince *Menzikoff* came thither on the 14th, and on the 16th the whole Court took up their Lodgings in one of the Suburbs, separated from the Town by the River *Moscow*. His Majesty had appointed to receive the Compliments of all the foreign Ministers on the 17th; but a great Fire happening in the Neighbourhood, the *British* Envoy was obliged to defer his Visit till the Day following, when the Czar received him with great Distinction at Prince *Menzikoff's* Apartment, and conferred with him several Hours. Finding it was very inconvenient for the Court to stay long in a Place where they were so ill accommodated, his Majesty gave Orders that the publick Entry into *Moscow* should be on the 21st, altho' the triumphal Arches, and other Preparations for this grand Ceremony, were not quite finished.

The Procession was begun by Prince *Michael*, eldest Son of Prince *Galiczin*, Lieutenant General, and Colonel of the Guards, on Horseback, at the Head of the *Semenovskii* Regiment of Foot, new clothed. The Prince's led Horses were followed by the Cannon, Colours, and Officers that were taken in the Battle against General *Leutwenhaupt*, closed by a Company of the *Preobrazhenski* Horse-Guards richly mounted. The Prisoners taken in the Battle of *Pultowa*, and those surrendered by the Capitulation of *Perewolonzca*, marched in the next Place: The non-commission'd Officers led the Way; next to them the Ensigns and Second Lieutenants, then the Lieutenants, Captain Lieutenants, and the Captains of both the Horse and Foot. These were followed by the Officers and Attendants of the Train of Artillery, who preceded the Ordnance; after which were carried the Kettle-Drums and Colours. Then marched the Majors, Lieutenant Colonels, Colonels, and General Adjutants, who were succeeded by the King

King of Sweden's Household and Equipage, together with the Litter and Bed that he used in the Day of Battle. After which came the chief Officers, in Number 10, each marching single. In the next Place came his Czarish Majesty, mounted on a stately *English* Horse, which had been presented to him by King *Augustus*; having Prince *Menzikoff* on his right, and Prince *Dolgoruki* on his left Hand, both likewise on Horseback.

There were seven triumphal Arches erected in the City; at the first of which his Majesty was received by the Magistrates; at the second by Prince *Gagarin*, Governor of the Town; at the third, by the Nobility; at the fourth, by the principal Merchants; at the fifth by the Clergy; at the sixth, by the Empreses Dowager, and the Princesses of the Blood; and at the last, by the Burghers. The foreign Ministers had separate Houses allotted them for the Ceremony; and his Majesty made a short Stop at the respective Places where they stood. The Cannon were fired several Times round the Town during the Procession, and the Whole was conducted with the utmost good Order and Magnificence. About 8 or 9000 Prisoners were brought into the Town, upon this Occasion, the Day before. But the Officers of the King of Sweden's Foot Guards, not having arrived from *Kiov* soon enough to appear in this Triumph, were publicly conducted through the City a few Days after.

On the 1st Day of the New Year 1710, his Czarish Majesty treated all the chief Persons of Quality and foreign Ministers. In the Evening a sumptuous Fire-work was prepared, on which were several Representations and Inscriptions, which all went off with great Exactness. The chief Machines were a *Phaeton* struck with a Thunder-bolt, and another Figure alluding to a Medal struck in Sweden. Two Pillars were first lighted, which supported imperial Crowns, and were adorned with a great Variety of blue, green, and pale Flames. When they had burnt some Time, a Lion moved forward, on whose Approach the first Pillar broke short at the Pedestal: But as he advanced near the second, a spread Eagle, representing the Czar's Arms, launched a Rocket, which blew up the Lion's Head and Neck, and the Pillar remained firm to the last. The Rejoicings at *Moscow* continued

tinued several Days; and his Majesty, amidst them, had the Pleasure to make publick the Satisfaction which the Queen of Great Britain had made him, for the Affront offered to his Ambassador at London in the Year 1708. I mentioned this Affair at the End of the former Book, and promised more of it at this Period. *M. de Matueof*, the Ambassador, having been arrested as there related, and carried into an Alehouse as a Prisoner, wrote in very high Terms concerning it to Mr. Secretary *Boyle*, and demanded severe Satisfaction on the Offenders. Mr. *Boyle* endeavoured to pacify him by promising such Redress as the Laws of England would admit, and a Prosecution was commenced by the Queen's Orders against the Persons concerned: But the Ambassador, used to more summary and arbitrary Proceedings, could not brook the Delay of this Method, and in a few Days retired into Holland, where he so strongly represented the Indignity to the Czar his Master, that his Majesty wrote concerning it to the Queen of Great Britain. The Persons were at length convicted in the Court of *Queen's-Bench*; but the Case being special and uncommon, and the Laws relating to Ambassadors being found imperfect, Chief Justice *Holt* refused to give Sentence on the Verdict, till it had been examined by the other Judges, and an Act of Parliament was passed to prevent any such Business for the future. In fine, this troublesome Affair was at last terminated by Mr. *Whitworth*, whom the Queen sent to *Moscow* for that Purpose, with the Character of Ambassador Extraordinary. He was introduced to the Czar with great Ceremony, at a Time when his Court was thus uncommonly splendid, and after three Obeisances, his Excellency, standing with his Hat off, made a Speech in *English*, a Translation of which into German was read aloud by the Secretary of the Embassy. Mr. *Whitworth* then delivered her Majesty's Letter, which, as it contains a full Representation of the whole Affair, I shall here insert at Length.

WE have already written to your Imperial Majesty, to declare to you the great Grief we conceived for the unhappy Affront which was offered to your Ambassador, before he left our Court. We have since received the Letter your Imperial Majesty wrote to us upon that

that Subject; and we can assure your Imperial Majesty, that we were touched with true Sorrow, when we saw how highly you resented the Violence which had been offered to your Imperial Majesty's own Person, in the Character of your Ambassador; and we were the more grieved on this Occasion, when we reflected on the Insufficiency of our Laws, to give as ample a Satisfaction as we desired to make, as well for the just Sense we ourselves had of the Indignity which had been offered, as to convince your Imperial Majesty how much we were inclined to make a suitable Reparation of the Injury done so good a Friend and Ally. But we must confess, that at the same Time we had a singular Pleasure in observing your Imperial Majesty's Desire to prevent the Misunderstanding which might arise therefrom, and the great Esteem you shewed for our Friendship; as well as the Care you expressed to preserve and cultivate it, by reciprocal Marks of Friendship and Affection.

Wherefore, we promise ourself from your Goodness, that upon the Representations which from Time to Time have been made to you in our Name, by our Envoy Extraordinary at your Imperial Court, your Imperial Majesty will be pleased to examine into the Nature of this Affair; where your Imperial Majesty will see, that we have not the least Inclination to favour the Criminals, nor to screen them from Justice; but that there are insuperable Difficulties, with respect to the ancient and fundamental Laws of the Government of our People, which, we fear, do not permit so severe and rigorous a Sentence to be given, as your Imperial Majesty at first seemed to expect in this Case: And we persuade ourself, that your Imperial Majesty, who are a Prince equally famous for Clemency and exact Justice, will not require us, who are the Guardian and Protectors of the Laws, to inflict a Punishment upon our Subjects, which the Law does not empower us to do.

Nevertheless, we have not been wanting, at the same Time, to use all the Means which we judged most effectual, to persuade your Imperial Majesty, and the whole World, of the Sincerity of our Intentions, and of our Endeavours in this Affair. And to the End the Guilty might be punished so far as the Laws and Consti-

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tutions of our Kingdoms, which were then in Force, would permit, we gave express and repeated Orders to our Officers of Justice, and to our Ministers, to prosecute them with the utmost Severity.

The Prosecution has been long continued with very great Diligence, and nothing has been omitted to bring it to as speedy a Conclusion as possible. But, after all, the Matter is such, that we find ourself obliged to inform your Imperial Majesty, That as well because of the different Pleadings in Favour of the Criminals; the slow, but indispensable Manners of proceeding in a Law-Suit of so great Importance; as of the Case itself, which is of an extraordinary Nature, against which no sufficient Provision is made in the ancient Statutes of these Kingdoms; it has not hitherto been in the Power of our Council learned in the Law, to obtain a Sentence, nor a final Decision of this Affair.

Wherefore, considering all these Inconveniencies, and foreseeing the Delays which might probably happen in the ordinary Course of Law; and desiring at the same Time, to give you signal Marks of our Sorrow, as also to shew you the Indignation of all our Subjects on this Occasion, we have passed an Act of Parliament, made in the most solemn Manner, by the great Council and Assembly of our Kingdom of *Great Britain*, wherein is made a Declaration, as authentick as possible, of the just Horror which our Subjects in general have against this violent Insult; and all the Acts and Proceedings which relate to the Arrest of the Person of your Imperial Majesty's Ambassador, are annulled and razed out of the Registers of our Courts of Justice; and those who had a Share therein, are branded as infamous Criminals, and obnoxious to the Laws which were then in Force. And if any Person hereafter durst commit the like Offence, or any Ways violate the Privileges of Ambassadors, and other foreign Ministers, they will be liable to the most severe Penalties and Punishments, which the arbitrary Power of the Judges shall think fit to inflict upon them, and to which no Bounds are given in this new Act. So that all Insults of this Nature will be prevented for the future, and the Security which all Princes Ministers ought to enjoy, will be firmly established and preserved

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by this famous Law. And this will remain as a Monument to all Posterity, of the Deference which has been shewn to your Imperial Majesty; and all the Ministers which shall come for the future, will be indebted to this extraordinary Act for their Protection, to the particular Consideration which we and our People have for your Imperial Majesty's Honour. As therefore your Imperial Majesty cannot but see, that we have used our utmost Endeavours in prosecuting the Criminals, and in causing them to be punished, tho' not with the Success we could have wished; and since we have procured an Act to be made by the Representatives of all our Subjects of *Great Britain*, as well for Reparation of what has been done, as to prevent the like Insolences for the future; we instantly pray your Imperial Majesty to accept of all that we have done on our Side, as the most we could do here for your Satisfaction, whereby your Imperial Majesty will give us the strongest Proof that can be of your constant Affection towards us; and you may be assured, that we shall not fail on our Side, to do all that lies in our Power, on all Occasions, to shew you our Gratitude by our firm Friendship and Esteem.

And to the End that nothing may be omitted, which is in our Power to do farther, by way of suitable Reparation, we have thought fit to make choice of some worthy and able Person, to declare to your Imperial Majesty in the most publick and solemn Manner, the Indignation we conceived at the Affront offered, and our Concern that it is not in our Power to cause the Criminals to be punished according to their Deserts. And as our Trusty and Well-beloved Mr. *Charles Whitworth* has merited our Royal Approbation, by his Ability and Experience in all the Affairs which have been intrusted with him, as also by his good Conduct at your Imperial Majesty's Court, for several Years past; we have therefore given him a special Power and Commission to represent our Person, as our Ambassador Extraordinary upon this Occasion, and to make such Excuse and Declarations in our Name, as will, we hope, give your Imperial Majesty entire Satisfaction. And we do hereby desire your Imperial Majesty to be pleased to admit
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and receive the said Mr. *Charles Whitworth* as our Ambassador Extraordinary for this End, and to give Credit to all that he shall say to you in our Royal Name, as if we were present to do it in Person. We will only add, as a Mark of our Esteem for your Ambassador himself, who suffered this Insult, that as we were sensible of his Personal Virtues and great Qualities during his Residence at our Court, so we were more particularly concerned, that such an Injury should be offered to a Gentleman of so great Merit and Consideration; being, besides, the Ambassador of so great a Prince, and so good an Ally. And so praying, that the great Dispenser of all good Things will vouchsafe to pour forth his Heavenly Benedictions upon the Person and Kingdom of your Imperial Majesty, we recommend you to his holy Protection.

Given at our Palace *Your Imperial Majesty's*
at *Windsor*, the—
Day of *August*, *Most affectionate Sister*,
1709.

ANNE, R.

The Czar having received this Letter from the Hands of the Ambassador, delivered it to the Count *de Golowin*, Great Chamberlain of his Empire, and made the following Answer in his own Tongue.

IT was but requisite, that her Majesty the Queen should have given Us Satisfaction, by punishing the Criminals conformably to our Demands, in the most rigorous Manner, as is the Custom in such Cases throughout the Universe; but seeing her Majesty has ordered you to make Excuses in the Quality of her Ambassador Extraordinary, conferred upon you expressly for this Purpose, and to remonstrate, that her Majesty could not inflict such a Punishment upon them, because of the Defect, in that Particular, of the former established Constitutions of her Kingdom; and that with the unanimous Consent of the Parliament, her Majesty has caused a new Act to be passed, to serve as a Law therein for the future; We accept all this for a Proof of the Affection her Majesty has for us, and for sufficient Satisfaction;
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and we will give Orders to our Ministers to settle entirely this Affair with you in a Conference.

The Ambassador then retired backwards out of the Hall, making three Obeisances in the same Manner as when he came in, and was conducted back to his House with the same Ceremony, and accompanied by the Chief Carver and the Cup Bearer; the former of whom treated him three Days successively, by Order of his Czarish Majesty, with the greatest Magnificence, the Officers of his Majesty's Household serving at Table. After this his Excellency came to the House of Count *Golowin*, Great Chamberlain, and there had a Conference with him, and other Ministers of the Czar, in which the Differences that had been occasioned by to ill an Accident were composed, and the antient Friendship between the two Crowns renewed, on Condition that the following Articles, which were stipulated, should be performed.

I. That his Czarish Majesty will send Orders to *M. de Matuseof*, his Ambassador at the *Hague*, to notify provisionally, by a Letter to the Queen of *Great Britain*, that *Mr. Whitworth* being vested with the Character of her Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, expressly to make Excuses on Occasion of the Affront in Question, has performed that Commission, and that his Majesty has been pleased to accept the said Excuses made in her Name, for Satisfaction, with an Intention thereby to shew the high Value he puts upon the Friendship of her *Britannick* Majesty, and in hope of the like Return on her Part in Occasions wherein his Czarish Majesty may be concerned; and that, in Consequence hereof, his Czarish Majesty is willing to forget the Criminal Proceedings of the Authors and Accomplices of the said Affront, and desires her Majesty the Queen to be pleased to order them to be discharged from the Process issued against them, and from the Sentence pronounced.

II. His Czarish Majesty having a just Regard to the signal Services which his said Ambassador has performed, and in a gracious Remembrance of the laudable Zeal of his deceased Father, first Minister and Boyar in the

the Reign of his Czarish Majesty's Father and Grandfather, who, in exhorting Rebels to Obedience, crowned his Services with his Blood; he cannot but demand, after his own Satisfaction, the particular Satisfaction of his Minister, by the Expedient of a Letter from the Queen, and the Re-imbursement of all the Costs and Damages which he had been obliged to be at, and to suffer on Account of the said Affront.

III. His Czarish Majesty will give Order to his said Ambassador to demand his Letter of Recedence, which he refused to accept when he left *London*, because of the aforesaid Affront.

IV. All that is above specified being executed, his Czarish Majesty will acquaint the Queen that he is content with the aforesaid Satisfaction, by a Letter which shall be delivered to her Ambassador.

Thus was the Difference between the Czar and the Queen of *Great Britain*, which began in *July 1708*, ended at the Beginning of *February 1710*, to the Satisfaction of both Crowns.

Soon after the Czar's Arrival in his Capital, his Niece *Ann Joannovna*, fourth Daughter of his elder Brother the Czar *John*, was married to the Duke of *Courland*, *Federick William*. But the young Prince falling ill, left her a Widow a few Days after their Marriage. This Lady is at present Empress of *Russia*, and seems to have the Glory of her Country as much at Heart as the Great *Peter* her Uncle: While *Dutchess Dowager of Courland*, she gained the Love of her Subjects there as much as she has that of the *Russians*, and the Esteem and Admiration of the rest of the World.

About the same Time his Majesty received News of the taking of *Erling*, a considerable Town in *Polysh* *Prussia*, where there was a Garrison of 8 or 900 *Saxons*, *General Nopitz*, at the latter End of *January*, being posted within three *Russ* Miles on the Avenues leading to the Town, kept it shut up in such a Manner, that nothing could be carried into it, nor any Person come out. As it froze very hard, and the double Pesse of the Town was covered with a thick Ice, the *Russian* Commandant formed a Design of scaling it with a Sword in Hand. He commanded out 2000 Men, and divided them into

seven Bodies, to make so many Attacks at 5 o'Clock in the Morning. Pursuant to this Order, after they had passed the Ditches, they scaled the Wall on the Side of the new Town, and entered the Place, notwithstanding the Fire of the Cannon, with which the Ramparts were well furnished, and the Opposition of the main Part of the Garrison. The *Swedes* were pushed to the Bridge of the Old Town, where for some Time they made an obstinate Resistance; but at last they were obliged to give way, and in the great Square of the Old Town Brigadier *Balck* made all the Garrison Prisoners, with the two Lieutenant Colonels who commanded them. This Action was the bolder, because the Town was fortified with twelve Royal Bastions, two Ditches filled with Water, and a high Wall with Ramparts of Turf. The *Swedish* Officers confessed, that they could not conceive how the Major General came to hazard such an Enterprize, and yet less how it came to succeed so happily; attributing the Success entirely to the good Conduct and Bravery of his Czarish Majesty's Troops, who did not lose above 28 Men.

The Czar departed from *Moscow* the latter End of February, in order to go into *Poland* by the Way of *Peterburgh* and *Livonia*. The Czarewitz, who had been some Time in *Poland*, was gone from *Cracow* to *Warsaw*; the Czar designing he should visit several Courts of *Europe*, before his Marriage with the Princess of *Wolfenbuttel*, which was then in Treaty. In this Interval King *Augustus* held a Diet at *Warsaw*, the Members of which were greatly divided among themselves. The Continuance of the *Russian* Troops in *Poland* was made a Pretext for fomenting Divisions; which alone would have obliged the Czar to keep his Troops there, that he might not lose the Fruit of his Conquests. The Forces before *Riga* kept the Town blocked up, throwing Bombs into it from Time to Time. The Besieged made a few useless Sallies, and Velt-Marechal *Czeremetoff* seemed resolved to reduce this important Place by Famine.

His Majesty being now at *Peterburgh*, undertook himself a very difficult Enterprize, which was to penetrate into the Great Dutchy of *Finland*; and having got together about 20,000 Men, he advanced with them, some

some by Water, and some by Land, towards *Wybourg*, the Capital of *Swedish* *Carelia*, and a Port of great Importance on the *Finland* Gulf. Admiral *Apraxin* came before the Town in the Night between the 2d and 3d of April, and attacked the Suburbs; which the Besieged abandoned, after having set Fire to two of their Magazines. The *Russians* taking Possession of the Place quitted by the *Swedes*, extinguished the Flames, and seized on three Ships that were in the Port. When his Czarish Majesty approached with Part of his Fleet, which brought Provisions, Ammunition, and the necessary Artillery, a Squadron of 13 *Swedish* Men of War presented itself ineffectually to oppose their landing. The Siege was pushed on with Vigour, which nevertheless continued till June, when the Garrison desired to capitulate. The Governor obtained Leave to march out with Arms and Baggage; but Count *Apraxin*, when he came out, caused him and his Garrison to be detained Prisoners of War, as a Reprisal for several Practices of the *Swedes* contrary to the Laws of Nations. The Count published a Sort of Manifesto, containing the Reasons which induced him to this seeming Breach of a Capitulation. They were as follow, 1. The Detaining of a *Muscovite* Ship sent with a Flag of Truce. 2. The Arresting the Czar's Resident at *Stockholm*, and confiscating his Effects. 3. The seizing the *Russian* Merchants in *Sweden*, and their Goods. General *Apraxin* declared, that as soon as the Regency of *Sweden* gave Satisfaction on these Complaints, the Garrison should enjoy all the Advantages that had been promised them by the Capitulation. Nevertheless, he permitted all the Officers that were wounded, and all the Widows and Children of those that had been killed, to go where they pleased. *Czeremetoff* was no sooner informed of the Surrender of *Wybourg*, but he gave Notice of it to the Governor of *Riga*, to whom he had some Days before offered a very honourable Capitulation, since it was impossible for him, in the Condition he was, to defend himself many Days longer. General *Stromberg* answered all these Civilities only from the Mouths of his Cannon. He every Day expected Succours by Sea; but the *Russians*, Masters of the Entrance into the River, lined the Banks with 300 Pie-

ces of Cannon, and made a strong Staccado in the Water, behind which a Bridge of Boats bore 12 large Guns to defend it; so that the Fleet, imagining it impossible to surmount so many Difficulties, retired. At length, on the 29th of *June*, Count *Stromberg* sent to notify that he desired to capitulate, and would send Deputies for that Purpose. The next Day the Velt-Mareschal sent two Colonels and an Auditor into the Town for Hostages; and his Coaches brought 11 to the Camp. The Capitulation contained a great Number of Articles, which were mostly agreed to by the Velt-Mareschal, being willing to give them a favourable Impression of the Czar's Government, who had promised to restore to the Nobility that submitted, all the Estates which the *Swedes* had taken from them by their Chamber of *Liquidations*, which was a sort of arbitrary Court of Justice establish'd by *Charles XI.* Of 12,000 Men, which had composed the Garrison, but 5000 came out, 3000 of which were sick. When the Men came before Velt-Mareschal *Czeremetoff*, he caused the Remains of two Regiments of *Carèlia*, and one of *Wybourg*, to pass over into his own Army; alledging, that those Places being now conquered, these national Troops ought no longer to be considered as *Swedes*. Besides these, Major General *Alfendeyl*, 5 Colonels, 20 Lieutenant Colonels, an Engineer, an Adjutant General, 19 Majors, 37 Captains, 14 Lieutenants, and some Ensigns and Cornets, with almost all the *Livonians*, put themselves under the Protection of his Czarish Majesty. There were about 500 Pieces of Artillery found in the Town; but no Provisions, and very little Ammunition. Sixty Thousand of the Citizens were Dead of the Plague and of Hunger, during the Time of the Siege.

According to the Articles of Capitulation, the Garrison of *Riga* was to have been transported into *Sweden*; but this was not performed, for Reasons given in a Declaration published by the Velt-Mareschal, which were pretty much the same as Count *Apraxin* gave for detaining the Governor and Garrison of *Wybourg*.

The Czar, who impatiently waited for this News, received it with much Joy, and immediately gave Orders

ders to complete the Conquest, by adding to it that of the important Fortress of *Dunamuden-Skantz*, situated at the Mouth of the *Duna*. It held out a Fortnight, and then was forced to surrender; the Plague destroying as many or more Men than the *Muscovites*. His Majesty likewise ordered, at the same Time, the Sieges of *Pernau*, of *Revel*, and of *Kexholm*; which were of no long Continuance, and gave but little Trouble. *Pernau* yielded on the 21st of *August*; and *Kexholm* on the 19th of *September*. *Arnsberg*, in the Isle of *Oesel*, followed the same Example. *Revel* capitulated on the 9th of *October*. Of 50,000 Inhabitants in this Town, the Plague had spared but 3000. This was the last Place of any Consequence in *Livonia*, that the Czar had not made himself Master of. And having now reduced that whole Province, he began to regulate the Affairs of it, and take all necessary Precautions to secure his Conquests. To gain the Affection of the People, he promised them not only the Continuation of their Privileges, but likewise to discharge them from several heavy Burthens they groaned under. He also published a Proclamation to encourage Trade and Navigation, and permitted the Exportation of all the Goods of the Country, except Timber fit for Ship-building, which he thought he should have an Occasion for himself. He invited Strangers from all Parts to re-people this fine Country, which the Plague and the War had rendered almost desolate; and having sent a Resident to *Hamburgh*, where the *Russians* did not use to have one, he ordered him to give Passes to all those who were willing to come and settle in *Livonia*. To gain the Gentry of the Country entirely, he formed 15 *Livonian* Regiments, the Officers of which he designed to have all of that Nation. All foreign Ships which now came into the Harbours of *Livonia*, were treated with all possible Civility, and nothing was neglected by the *Muscovites*, to render their Government acceptable both to the Natives and Foreigners: His Majesty thus making a double Conquest of the People, first of their Persons, and then of their Affections.

CHAP. II.

Project of Neutrality in the Empire. Transactions and War with the Turks. The Action of the Pruth, and the Peace that followed it. The Czar's Generosity to Prince Cantemir.

THE Czar being now Master of *Livonia*, once esteemed the richest Jewel in the Crown of *Sweden*, it seemed very probable that his Forces, united to those of his Allies, would very shortly have invaded *Pomerania*, and the other *Swedish* Dominions in *Germany*, if the Allies in Confederacy against *France* and *Spain* had not interposed. In order to which, they concerted a Project, which was signed *March 31, 1710*, for preserving the Neutrality of the Empire. By the Act drawn up on this Occasion, it was not permitted to any of the Powers at War in the North, to attack, or even march thro' any Part of the Empire: And the Allies, (which were the Emperor, the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the States General) declared, that if the Czar, the King of *Poland*, or the King of *Denmark*, on the one Hand, or the King of *Sweden* on the other, should infringe this Neutrality, the said Allies would take Part against the Power so infringing, and support the Side which preserved it.

Copies of this Act were sent to the several Parties, and it was immediately agreed to, in express Declarations, by the Czar and his Allies. But the *Swedish* Minister at the *Hague*, *M. Palmquist*, boggled at it extremely, and did not absolutely consent till four Months after; which Consent, as we shall soon see, was not then effectual.

The Allies however, to shew they were resolved to maintain this Neutrality, agreed upon their respective Quota's of Troops. The Emperor, *Great Britain*, and the other Members, were to furnish 15 or 16,000 Men; and as the Czar and *Augustus* had insisted upon having the Forces under General *Craffau* disbanded, or put into the Service of the Allies, except what were sufficient for the Garrisons in *Pomerania*, a Negotiation was actu-

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ally set on Foot with the *Swedes*, for taking 9000 Men into the Pay of the Allies. But the King of *Sweden*, tho' this Scheme was calculated for the Preservation of his Provinces in *Germany*, wrote to the Powers concerned therein, in very passionate Terms, reproaching them with intending to tie up his Hands, and hinder him from acting against his Enemy. As the King of *Sweden* thus thought fit to reject the Act of Neutrality, the Czar could no longer think himself bound by it: But after some previous Declarations, caused his Army to march into *Germany*, to begin the Operations of War against *Pomerania*.

Charles, in the mean Time, had been well received, and munificently treated, in *Turky*; which gave him hopes of being assisted with a powerful Army, to make fresh Head against his Rival. These Hopes were not groundless; for the Grand Vizier had told the *Swedish* General *Poniatowski*, That he would take the King in one Hand, and his Sword in the other, and lead him to *Moscow* at the Head of 200,000 Men. But Count *Tolstoy*, the Czar's Envoy, managed Matters so well at the *Port*, that the Talk of this War soon ceased, and greater Honours were paid to him than any *Muscovite* Minister had ever enjoyed at *Constantinople*. Nay, such Encouragement was shewn him, that the Czar thought proper to demand *Mazeppa* to be delivered up, as *Charles* had demanded the unfortunate *Patrik*; and it is thought that would have been complied with, had not *Mazeppa*, now 70 Years of Age, died in the Interim. But the greatest Mortification to the King of *Sweden*, was to hear that the *Russian* Ambassador was publicly served at his Table by *Swedish* Prisoners, now made Slaves, and that many of them were daily sold in the Markets.

Consequently *Ali-Basha*, the Grand Vizier, who had thus gone off from him to his Enemy, was soon after deposed, and *Numan* Couprougly put in his Place: But this Minister, having too much Probity, maintained his Post but two Months; after which he was sent to his Government of *Negropont*. Yet he had determined the Grand Signior, in this short Time, to allow the King of *Sweden* a considerable Body of Men, to reconduct him into *Poland*. *M. Tolstoy*, with very little Suc-

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cess, endeavoured to oppose this by Remonstrances; and sending advice of it to the Czar, his Majesty wrote a Letter to the Grand Signior, endeavouring to dissuade him from this Design, so contrary to the Intent of the Treaty then subsisting between them; and declaring, That he must oppose the Execution of it, should it be attempted. This Letter made no Alteration in the Resolutions taken at the *Porte*; and *Baltagi Mahomet*, *Bashaw of Syria*, who had been once before Grand Vizier, being now restored to that Post, gave fresh Hopes to the King of *Sweden*, who spared no Pains to render the *Russians* odious to this Minister; and an Occasion offering at this Time, favoured his Designs.

It had been a constant Custom for all foreign Ministers, on the Promotion of a Grand Vizier, to desire an Audience to felicitate his Highness. The Ambassador of *Russia* was the first who demanded his Audience; but was answered, that the Precedence had been always given to the Ambassador of *France*, as Minister of the most antient Ally of the *Porte*, to whom they had always given the Title of Emperor. The *Russian* Ambassador replied, That the Monarch of *France*, among all Christian Princes, was looked upon only as a King, and not as an Emperor, which Title was more suitable to his Master; and moreover, that the Precedence was due to him as an Ambassador Extraordinary. This Dispute was kept for some Time on the Carpet, while many Books and Registers were examined: But it not being found in Treaties, that any other Title than that of Czar had been given to the Sovereigns of *Russia*, it was determined that his Ambassador could not be admitted before the Ambassador of *France*. *M. Tolstoy* protested, but to little purpose, against this Determination; and let the Grand Vizier understand, that since the Case was so, he must be deprived of the Honour of waiting upon him. The *Tartars*, the *Swedes*, and the *French*, did not fail to insinuate to the Vizier, that this Answer was full of Pride, and Contempt for his Person: They likewise aggravated some Complaints made of the *Russians* on the Frontiers of the Empire; which all together, with the Management of the Cham of *Tartary*, had the desired Effect.

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The Cham, greatly encouraged by many Promises from the King of *Sweden*, had, for his own Interest, vigorously espoused his Cause; and, at the Instigation of the Palatine of *Kiow*, and General *Poniatowsky*, represented to the Chief Ministers at the *Porte*, that the *Muscovites* had many Times fallen upon innocent *Mahometans*, contrary to the Tenor of Treaties, and murdered them: That the Pride and great Power of the Czar, together with the perpetual Motions of his Troops on the Frontiers, were grown intolerable: That his continual building of Ships at *Asoff*, and sitting out Men of War, Gallies, and Brigantines, openly threatened the Empire with a sudden Invasion, upon the first Opportunity: That therefore out of Conscience and Duty, as a right *Mahometan*, he was obliged to acquaint the Grand Signior, that the *Tartars* and other Inhabitants under him were not safe, in the present Posture of Affairs: That besides, he was justly alarmed for *Constantinople* itself; and consequently, that it was high Time to prevent those Dangers with which the *Ottoman* Empire was threatened, and dissipate them by vigorous Measures, before it was too late. The Cham concluded, That as he was a faithful Servant to the Empire, he was bound to give notice to the *Porte* of what he had related; and added, that he thought it absolutely necessary, that the Great Council should be forthwith called together, and that each Member thereof should be allowed Liberty of Speech, without any Restraint.

According to this Advice, the Great Council was called, and the Grand Signior being seated behind a Curtain, the Cham of *Tartary* made a long Harangue, in which he acquainted his Majesty and the Council, with all the Particulars before-mentioned; concluding, That it was high Time to prevent those Dangers which threatened the *Ottoman* Empire, and to send home the King of *Sweden* through *Poland*, with a formidable Army, that he might vigorously attack *Muscovy* on that Side. He communicated at the same Time some Letters, said to be wrote by several *Polish* Grandees to the King of *Sweden*, the Palatine of *Kiow*, and General *Poniatowsky*, wherein they promised, that as soon as the King and these Generals were advanced on the Frontiers of *Poland*, they,

they, with the greatest Part of the Republick, would join them. When the Cham had finished his Speech, the Lords of the Great Council were commanded to declare their Opinion; but not one had the Courage to contradict any Thing he had said. On the contrary, the Question being put to the Vote three Times successively, they concluded that War was to be declared against *Muscovy*, and the sooner the better. Upon which the Mufti was consulted, to know if it was lawful according to the *Alcoran*. The Mufti briefly gave his Sentence, in these Words: *The Law answers; 'Tis necessary.* Hereupon the *Muscovite* Ambassador was clapt into the Castle of the *Seven Towers*, and he would have been put to Death, if the Grand Vizier had not dissuaded the Sultan from so extraordinary a Violation of the Law of Nations.

An Account of this being brought to the Czar, he wrote again to the Grand Signior, remonstrating against what had been done, professing an Inclination to preserve the Peace; but declaring at the same Time, that if the King of *Sweden* were sent into *Poland* in a hostile Manner, he must be obliged to assist his Ally *Augustus*, and was not accountable for the Consequences. This Letter had no more Effect than the former; a Manifesto of the *Porte* being soon after sent to all the Governors and Officers in the *Ottoman* Empire, commanding them to arm against the *Russians*, who were charged with all the Infringements of Peace that had been alledged by the *Cham* of *Tartary*. The Grand Vizier immediately made the necessary Dispositions for the Campaign, and in the Month of *March*, 1711, went out of *Constantinople*, to put himself at the Head of the Army, which was assembled near *Adrianople*, from whence he caused them to decamp, to take the Route of the *Danube*.

Though the Czar could not be informed of what was done at *Constantinople*, not only because his Minister was imprisoned, but because his Couriers were stopt on the Frontiers; yet he learnt so much by other Hands, as to be ready to give Orders for being in the Field before the *Turks*. He likewise prepared for the Defence of *Asoph*, whi-

whither he sent Vice-Admiral *Vander Cruys*, with three hundred good Sea-Officers; and leaving to Prince *Menzikoff* the Command of his Forces in *Livonia*, *Ingria*, and *Finland*, he set out from *Petersburgh* to *Moscow*, that he might the more readily attend his new Levies, and dispatch a numerous Army into the *Ukrain*. The Generals *Repin*, *Allard*, and *Galliezin*, conducted in 3 Columns, cross *Poland*, the best Part of the *Russian* Troops that were in *Samogitia* and *Lithuania*. The Czar ordered that they should raise, throughout his Dominions, the fourth Man of all who were able to bear Arms, and the second of all the Valets of the Nobility; which last Article produced a great Number. Velt Marechal *Czeremetoff*, who was already on the Frontiers at the Head of his Army, received 30,000 Men of the new Levies. Prince *Romanowdowsky* had Orders to advance with the Militia against the *Tartars*. And besides these his Majesty had made a Treaty with *Apaka Taquin*, Prince of the *Calmuc Tartars*, who sent him 25,000 Men, for which the Czar paid him 100,000 Ducats in Specie. Thus, without reckoning the Troops that remained under the Command of Prince *Menzikoff*, or the *Cossacks*, his Czarish Majesty had got together an Army of 150,000 Men, all regular Troops. And *Apaka Taquin*, taking hold of this favourable Opportunity to fall upon the *Precopian Tartars*, his Enemies, brought 50,000 *Calmuc Tartars* into the Field, and employed 22,000 *Circassians* against the *Dorowowski* and *Norowski Tartars*, who are on the Borders, and occupy the Ramparts of *Crimea*. To all these Preparations the Czar joined a long and very circumstantial Manifesto, penned in the strongest Terms, against the Injustice of the *Porte*, and in Defence of his own Preparations: And the following Declaration, containing his Reasons in fewer Words, was at the same Time sent to all his Ministers in the several Courts of *Europe*.

Whereas we have received certain Informations from divers Places, that the *Ottoman Porte* endeavours to justify the Violation of Peace already declared against us, and actually begun by the Irruption of the *Tartars* into our Territories, and for that Purpose charges us with several groundless Matters, by which they pretend they were

we were forced to come to a Rupture, and amongst others, as if we were not inclined to continue in Peace with them, but had actually resolved to begin War; as also that, contrary to the Peace concluded with the *Ottomans*, we had erected several new Fortifications on our Frontiers, suffered our Troops to enter the *Turkish* Dominions, and that we would not give them leave to convoy the King of *Sweden* in Safety back to his own Territories: We have thought it necessary, to declare herewith openly, that we never have had the Intention to break in any Manner whatsoever the Peace concluded between us and the *Ottoman Porte*, and to enter into a War with the *Turks*; but the same has been hitherto religiously and inviolably observed by us. The Fortifications erected by us, are likewise in no respect against the Treaty, but upon our own Territories, which partly belonged to us of old, and partly were yielded to us by the Treaty and the Limits marked out by the Commissaries on both Sides, and which have been fixed many Years ago: It is therefore to be wonder'd, that the *Porte* would take Occasion to complain thereof at this Juncture. Our Troops never enter'd the *Turkish* Dominions, but remained on the Frontiers; and altho' they did some time ago, according to the Law of War, pursue their Enemy into the *Turkish* Territories, and seized them therein, which however was done in such Places, where there were no Inhabitants; yet all this, as well as other Matters, were fully settled and adjusted in the Confirmation of Peace renewed last Year, whereby the *Porte* did likewise stipulate with our Ambassador, that they should convoy the King of *Sweden* with 5000 *Turks* thro' *Poland*, and that we should guard him by our Officers from the Frontiers; to which we not only consented, but also promised to procure the like Consent from the King and the Republick of *Poland*. But this being not accepted by the *Porte*, on account of several Pretences, we did at last, in two of our Letters to the *Sultan*, and by our Ambassador and Privy Counsellor *Tolstoy* at *Constantinople*, declare, That we would suffer the King of *Sweden* to pass through *Poland* free and unmolested into his own Dominions, and to that End permit him a Guard of 5000 *Turks* to see him safe thro' *Poland*; where-
by

by our peaceable Intention sufficiently appears, and that on our Part we have contributed whatever might prevent all Manner of Disturbance, and maintain a good Correspondence and Neighbourly Friendship with the *Ottoman Porte*. And that all the World may be sensible thereof, we confirm herewith our former Declaration, and offer, before a tedious War be commenced, to accommodate Matters with the *Porte*, and to live in a neighbourly Amity with her as formerly: And notwithstanding, in order to provide for our Precaution and Security (after we have been informed from all Parts of a Rupture, and that the War is actually declared against us at *Constantinople*, and our Ambassador carried Prisoner to the Seven Towers) we have caused our Troops to march to the *Turkish* Frontiers, they shall not however undertake any Hostilities, provided the *Turks* live on their Part peaceably, put a stop to Preparations of War, and set our Ambassador, with all his Retinue, at Liberty: And we will, as soon as we are sufficiently assured of these Things by the *Ottoman Porte*, order our Forces to withdraw from the Frontiers, and facilitate, as much as in us lies, a friendly Accommodation; to which End we willingly accept, and herewith desire the Mediation of his Imperial Majesty, her Majesty the Q. of Great Britain, and their High Mightinesses the States-General. But in case the *Porte*, without any Occasion given her by us, should persist in her Resolution to break the Peace, and begin the War against us, we declare before God, and all the World, that we are excusable, and not guilty of all the Blood that may be spilt on this Occasion; and we have an entire Confidence in God, that he will assist our just Cause, and prosper our Arms with Victory against an Enemy, who breaks Treaties, and who but a Year ago, by so many Oaths and Promises, confirmed and renewed the Peace with us.

Given at *Moscow* the 28th
of February, 1711.

PETER.

The *Tartars* had begun Hostilities before this Declaration was made publick, and the *Cham's* Son and the King of *Sweden* both published long Manifesto's. The *Cham* was at the Head of 150,000 Men; his Son commanded

manded 50,000, and the Palatine *Potocky* followed them at the Head of 10,000 more, got together from all Nations, *Poles, Swedes, Hungarians, Walachians and Cossacks*. The *Tartars*, who were Neighbours to the *Donski Cossacks*, and had engaged them to revolt, began on the Side of *Aspb*; but their Campaign lasted not long: They advanced as far as *Izium*, pillaging the Country about it, and having defeated 4 or 5000 *Russians*, marched off with their Booty. But the Irruption of the *Cham* into the *Ukrain* was attended with worse Consequences: He beat several Parties of the *Russians*, and seized on several small Places, such as *Wolno, Malinowoloda, Noiwivoloda, &c.* He also took *Mercovi, Ternocka*, and some little Forts. In short, he penetrated as far as *Samara*, and burnt, under the Fortifications of that Town, 150 Vessels designed to transport the Troops and Artillery. But the Snow obliged him to retire, and towards the End of *March* he arrived at *Precep* with very considerable Spoils, and near 12,000 Slaves.

Potocky, the *Cossacks* of *Orlick*, and the *Cham's* eldest Son, whose Title is Sultan *Galgá*, advanced along the *Borysthenes*, and dispersed every where as they went the Manifestos of the King of *Sweden*, the Sultan *Galgá*, and the said *Potocky*; but to little Effect: However, not finding any Resistance, the *Russian* Troops being on the Banks of the *Neister*, near *Moldavia*, they penetrated as far as *Niemirów* beyond *Braciów*, both above and below the *Bog*, from whence, after some slight Skirmishes, and raising Contributions in the Country, they retired to the Side of *Bialocerkiów*. *Potocky* and the *Tartars* gave three Assaults to this Fortreis, and lost many Men before they could master the Town; but the Citadel held out till the Arrival of Prince *Gailiczin*, who put these Maroders to Flight, after having killed above 5000 of their Men, retook the Spoils, and released the Slaves they had made: Five hundred *Russians* had defended the Citadel of *Bialocerkiów* against the Efforts of 37,000, of whom they killed above 4000. This Action dissipated these *Tartars* for the present, and obliged *Potocky* to return into *Turky*. In the mean Time, the new Grand Vizier, ignorant in the Art of War, was slow in his Preparations, and a Mistake had been com-

committed in displacing the Admiral *Gianum-Coggia*, the best Seaman belonging to the *Porte*. His Successor ordered near 300 Sail of Ships to be equipped in the *Black Sea*, where 37,000 Men were to embark. The *Topfi-Bashtar*, or Master of the Ordnance, had Orders to have a large Train of Artillery in Readiness, with 14,000 Men. The Land-Army consisted of 120,000 Men, Horse and Foot, besides the *Tartars*, who made the whole Number amount to about 200,000.

At this Time the Grand Signior was informed that *Brancovan*, Prince of *Walachia*, held a secret Correspondence with the Czar, and had promised to revolt to him, if he could penetrate into *Moldavia* with 30,000 Men, and a sufficient Quantity of Provisions. This being confirmed by several Hands, he ordered the *Cham* of *Tartary* to consult with the Vizier upon the Means of having him seized. The *Cham's* Advice was, to draw him in by the Help of the Hospodar of *Moldavia*, and if *Maurocordato*, who then governed, was not thought proper to undertake it, he recommended *Demetrius Cantemir*, whose Fidelity had been experienced, and whose Father had been Prince of that Country.

According to this Advice, the Sultan deposed *Maurocordato*, and appointed *Cantemir* Prince of *Walachia*, under the Title of that of *Moldavia*, with Orders to seize *Brancovan* under Colour of Friendship, or any other Pretence which he thought proper, and send him alive or dead to *Constantinople*; promising that no Tribute should be levied on him, as usual: Whereupon *Cantemir* set out with the *Cham* for *Moldavia*; but had not been arrived there many Days before he was directed to send the *Piskieff*, or Present, demanded of a Prince when he first enters on his Government, and to collect a great Quantity of Provisions for the *Turkish* Army, with other intolerable Burthens. From these First-Fruits, the Prince tells us himself, perceiving how little Faith was to be expected from the Infidels, he threw off his Attachment to the *Turkish* Interest, and sent a trusty Messenger to the Czar, with an Offer of himself and his Principality: And they having mutually exchanged their Faith, *Cantemir* constantly gave the Czar proper Advices. And having the Direction of the Bridge over the *Danube*, to be

be erected at the Charge of the *Turks*, he made a Shew of going on with it, but used his utmost to retard the Work, without being, as yet, the least suspected; while he was continually pressing the Czar to hasten his March before it was finished: But his Majesty, not readily listening to this Advice, and being deceived by the Hopes given him by *Brancovan*, came at last too late to hinder the *Turks* passing the *Danube*. Yet so slow were the Infidels in their Preparations, that, notwithstanding the pressing Instances of the King of *Sweden's* Ministers, it was the latter End of *April* before the Troops were assembled near *Adrianople*. Besides, the Grand Signior was in great Uncertainty, whether he should command his Army himself, or trust it to the Grand Vizier. Mean while the Czar, hearing of the great Equipment of the *Turks* upon the *Black Sea*, made extraordinary Preparations on that Side, fitting out 20 Ships of the Line of Battle, and other Vessels, in which 23,000 Men were embarked.

During all these Preparations, the Christian Powers, who had Ministers at the *Porte*, endeavoured to put a Stop to so important a War, by persuading the King of *Sweden* to come to Terms with his Enemy. Mr. *Jesferius* in particular, her *Britannick* Majesty's Minister, going to *Bender*, presented a Memorial to him to that Effect; desiring also that he would approve the Neutrality agreed on at the *Hague*, and permit the *English* and *Dutch* to trade freely to those Towns in the *Baltick*, which the Czar had taken during the War in the North. But *Charles*, still preserving his haughty Temper, refused to make any Treaty with the Czar in which the *Porte* was not included, and proposed the *English* and *Dutch* should join him against his other Enemies, with whom they were then in Alliance. As to the other Particulars, he absolutely refused to approve the Neutrality, or consent to a free Commerce in the *Baltick*. This Answer, considering the Posture of his Affairs, was not a little surprizing; but he was resolved to hear of no Peace; not doubting but that, by the Assistance of the *Turk*, he should again triumph over his Enemies. The Czar, on the other Hand, seeing a Part of his Troops got over the *Neister*, into his Enemies Country, and no body yet to oppose

oppose them, could not help flattering himself with the Hopes, that Heaven had destined him the Honour of overthrowing the Empire of the *Ottomans*. He arrived, on the 12th of *June*, at *Soroka*, with all his Court; for the *Czarina Catharine*, with whom he had lately declared his Marriage, would accompany him in this dangerous Expedition. From thence he went towards *Jassy*, the Capital of *Moldavia*, being now joined by Prince *Cantemir*, who published a Declaration, at his going over to him, directed To the Right Reverend the *Grecian* Bishop of the Cathedral of *Soczowva*, the illustrious and potent Generals and their Forces, together with all the other Subjects of *Moldavia*; and setting forth the Reasons of his present Conduct.

The Czar waited three Days at *Jassy* for the Provisions promised him by *Brancovan*; but observing that his Ambassador only amused him with Ceremonies, and having some Assurances of his Treachery, he found himself in very near the same Condition with the King of *Sweden* when invited into the *Ukrain* by *Mazeppa*. He was in a wild Country, destitute of Provisions or Forage for half his Army; without Magazines, or any Place from whence he could expect any Succours: For tho' *Cantemir* continued firm to him, he found his *Moldavians* in a different Interest: And *Brancovan* made a Merit to the Sultan of having deceived him. The Grand Vizier, hearing that the Czar was come to *Jassy*, immediately decamped, and crossing the *Danube*, soon came within Sight of the *Muscovites*. The *Pruth* now separated them, and the whole Army being got over, *Turks* and *Tartars*, the Vizier pitched his Camp, and fortified it with Trenches.

The Czar, when he first heard of this Advance, sent General *Janus* with a Detachment, to dispute the Passage of the *Danube*; but he came too late, and the *Turks* were now came up to him, with an Army three Times the Number of his own. However, having disposed his Troops behind a Line of *Chevaux de Frize*, he made so strong and regular a Fire, that the Enemy, with all their Horses, could not break in upon him; but in the Evening they retired out of the Reach of the *Russian* Artillery, carrying off their Dead with them. The next Morn-

Morning the *Turks* renewed the Fight, and continued the same all Day. They attempted to force the *Russian* Lines in several Places to no Purpose, and lost a great many Men. Night parted them again. The third Day General *Poniatowsky*, seeing the Situation the *Muscovites* were in, destitute of Provision, and surrounded by the River *Pruth*, and the Armies of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, advised the Grand Vizier to starve them out. The Czar, in this desperate Condition, had given himself over for lost, when the Czarina thought of an Expedient to preserve him. It is said by some, that she sent a Present to the Grand Vizier unknown to the Czar; but it is most probable that she prevailed on him to send a Letter, which being accompanied with a large Sum of Money, and all the Jewels and Things of Value that could be got together, made a very good Impression on the Mind of the Grand Vizier, and a Treaty was soon concluded. When the Vizier sent his Deputies into the *Russian* Camp, he charged them to desire to be admitted into the Presence of the Czarina, that he might be certain she was there; hardly believing that a Lady, out of Love to her Husband, should venture herself in so dangerous an Expedition.

It was at this Time, that the King of *Sweden*, being informed of the Situation of Affairs, was come *incognito* to the Grand Vizier's Camp. And having heard what had passed, he went to the Vizier's Tent, to reproach him. Among other Things he asked him, If he could justify what he had done? To which the Vizier answered, That he had the Power of making Peace or War, and had obtained more of the Czar than the Grand Signior had expected or demanded. "Had you not, replied *Charles*, your Enemies at your Discretion, and might you not have reaped yet much greater Advantages? Give me now 20,000 of your best Troops, and I will recover the Opportunity which you are upon the Point of losing, and are never likely to have again. I would make no doubt of delivering the Czar a Prisoner to the Sultan, who might at least keep him till the Treaty is executed." The Vizier answered, "God, who commands us to pardon an Enemy who humbles himself before us, as the Czar has, preserve us from breaking a Treaty

Treaty of Peace without any Reason; I have Hostages for the Performances of it." *Poniatowsky*, seeing that his Majesty kept silent, with a disdainful Smile answered: "The King has at this Time in his capital City an Ambassador of the Czar's Prisoner, whom he sent to make Protestations of an inviolable Friendship, at the very Time that himself was upon the March with 80,000 Men, to surprize one of his Castles. But, added he, there is still the Remedy which has been proposed, even without breaking the Treaty. The Czar may be stopt with 20 or 30,000 of your best Troops, at the Head of which the King will put himself, to oblige him to an honourable Peace with his Majesty." The Vizier replied, "However, this seems to me an indirect Violation of the Treaty." Whereupon the King said, "When I offered to stop the Czar, it was not to sue to him for Peace: For when I do that, he must be victorious even at the Gates of *Stockholm*." "There is an Article, replied the Vizier, by which his Majesty may return into his Dominions, and pass even thro' the Czar's Territories, with a strong Convoy which he shall have of the *Porte*; after which, if he pleases, he may make Peace with him." The King look'd full at the Vizier, and laughed in his Face, without making any Answer; but turning on his Heel, went out of the Tent, and took his Horse to go to *Bender*.

The Hostages were Baron *Schafroff*, Vice-Chancellor to the Czar, and the young Count *Czeremetoff*; and the Articles of the Peace were, "I. That the Czar should restore *Asoph*, in the Condition wherein he formerly took it, with its Territories. II. That *Taiganrog*, *Kamenki*, and the new Fort on the River *Samara*, shall be totally demolished; the Cannon and Ammunition of War in *Kamenki* to be left therein to the *Porte*, and no new Fort to be ever built in the same Place. III. That the Czar shall not concern himself with the *Polacks*, nor with the *Cossacks* their Dependants, nor with the Dependants of *Han Doulet Gherai*; but shall leave them in their former Condition. IV. That Merchants may come by Land into the *Turkish* Dominions with their Merchandise; but no Person shall be admitted to reside at the *Porte* in Quality of an Ambassador. V. That all Mussul-

mans, who formerly, or in this War, have been taken, shall be restored to Liberty. VI. That the King of Sweden shall have free and safe Passage, without being hindered by the *Muscovites*; and in case they have a Mind to make a Peace, it may in Consequence be treated between them. VII. For the future, no Injury shall be done by the *Porte* to the *Muscovites*, nor by these to the former." Thus ended this short War with the *Turks*, which, if the Grand Vizier had been a Master of his Business, must have ruined the *Russian* Empire; for he might, without risking a Man, have forced the Czar, and his whole Army, to have surrendered at Discretion.

I must here take notice of the Czar's great Generosity to Prince *Cantemir*, as he relates it in his own History. The first Demand of the Vizier, at the Treaty of *Pruth*, was, that *Cantemir*, the Rebel Prince of *Moldavia*, should be delivered up to him. Many of the Courtiers persuading him not to lose so numerous Army for the Sake of one Man, he answered; "That he could resign all the Country as far as *Curska* to the *Turks*, since there was Hope of recovering it again; but could by no Means violate his Faith, and deliver up a Prince who had abandoned his Principality for his Sake, because it was impossible to repair Honour once forfeited." The Minister was ordered to tell the *Turks*, that the Prince was not in the Camp, who during the Treaty was shut up in the Czarina's Coach, which was known only to a Servant that brought him Victuals. The Czar always continued to have a great Regard for him, being persuaded, that if he had taken his Advice, he should have made himself Master of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*. He gave him several Estates in *Russia* and the *Ukrain*, and settled a Pension of 20,000 Roubles a Year upon him. This Gentleman was a Man of great Learning, and wrote a History of the *Ottoman* Empire, in *Greek* and *Latin*, which has been lately translated into *English*, from a Copy communicated by his Son Prince *Antiochus Cantemir*, not long since Ambassador to the Court of Great Britain.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

The Czar returns home. Marriage of the Czarewitsch. The Czar desires to become a Member of the Empire. Fresh Differences with the Turks. The Czar's publick Marriage with Catharine. Peace twice renewed with the Turks. King of Sweden ordered to depart. Action of Bender.

THE *Russians* being supplied with Provisions by the Grand Vizier, decamped with Drums beating, Colours flying, and Sword in Hand. They made but small Marches however, for want of Horses, and on Account of their great Number of Sick and Wounded. This Expedition cost the Czar about 20,000 Men, besides some Millions in Money and Jewels, that he paid for this Peace, which the *Porte* did not long maintain. Nevertheless, when the Sultan heard of it, he was so well pleased, that he ordered publick Rejoicings for three Days; and shewed that he approved of the Conduct of his Vizier, by the Reception he gave him. The Czar retired towards his own Dominions, to put the Treaty in Execution, that no Subject of Complaint from the *Turks* might prevent his Designs in the North. He left his Generals to conduct his Troops thro' *Poland*, where one Party remained, while the rest went into *Lithuania* and *Livonia*, from whence a Body was sent into *Pomerania*.

While the Czar was unfortunate on the Borders of the *Pruth*, his Allies suffered not the *Swedes* to enjoy much Repose. As the King of *Sweden* had protested against the Treaty of Neutrality, and his Generals had acted contrary to it, this was thought a sufficient Pretence for entering *Pomerania*, and forming the Blockade of *Stralsund*.

The Czar went first to *Warsaw*, and from thence to *Elbing*, where he arrived on the 12th of Sept. 1711, but staid only to repose himself, and then pursued his Journey to *Carelsbad*, by the Way of *Dresden*. He used the Waters of *Carelsbad* with good Success; and having concluded

cluded a Negotiation with M. *Kameke*, the King of *Prussia's* Minister, returned to *Dresden*, and arrived afterwards at *Targau* on the 24th of *October*. The *Carewitz*, now 22 Years of Age, was come to *Targau* two Days before, where the Queen of *Poland* had made Preparations for his Marriage with the Princess *Charlotta-Christiana-Sophia* of *Wolfenbittel*, who was in her 18th Year. This Marriage was celebrated with no great Ceremony, on the Day after the Czar's Arrival, by a Priest of the *Greek Church*. The *Czarewitz* was led to the Altar by the Czar, and the Princess by Duke *Anthony Ulrich* of *Wolfenbittel*, her Grandfather. The Queen of *Poland*, the Duke of *Wolfenbittel*, Father to the Bride, and her Mother, were present at the Ceremony. There was a grand Entertainment at the Queen of *Poland's*. The old Duke of *Wolfenbittel*, if the Czar would have suffered the Expence, designed that the Splendor of his Grand-Daughter's Marriage should have been beyond Example; and to have invited to it, in his capital City, the Kings of *Poland*, *Denmark*, and *Prussia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, and some other Princes. But instead of more Pomp, it were to be wished there could have been more Happiness in this Marriage. The *Czarewitz*, given up to sensual Pleasures and vicious Company, had no Desire to marry, nor had he thought of it, but to prevent the Danger he was in of forfeiting his Succession. For his indolent wicked Course of Life, and the Aversion he shewed to Foreigners, had created in his Father so ill an Opinion of him, as made him drop some Intimations, that, unless he gave some Tokens of Amendment, he must expect to have his Head shaved, and be thrust into a Convent. His own Favourites, apprehensive of the Danger, persuaded him to reconcile himself to his Father, by promising to alter his Way of Life, and marrying into some considerable Family among the Princes of the Empire, with whom his Majesty was desirous of having an Alliance. The Prince, tho' naturally dull, had Sense enough to take this Advice, and throwing himself at his Father's Feet; declaring his Intention of leading a new Life; begging Leave to make the Tour of *Germany*, in order to make choice of a virtuous Lady, who might be agreeable to his Birth and Inclinations.

A few

A few Days after the Marriage, the new-married Couple took the Route of *Wolfenbittel*, and the Czar that of *Crossen* and *Silesia*, where the Prince Royal of *Prussia* entertained him for three Days. He then took the Route of *Prussia*, and on the 8th of *November* arrived at *Thorn*, where he embarked with the Czarina for *Elbing*. Their Majesties found in this City a numerous Court of Foreign Ministers to attend them, and among the rest Prince *Ragotski*, who came from *Dantzick* for that Purpose. But the Troubles which were excited afresh, by the *French* and *Swedish* Factions in *Turkey*, soon recalled the Czar to his own Dominions. He went through *Koningsberg*, *Memel*, and *Riga*, in which last Place he stopt for some Time; promising the Citizens his Protection, provided they would be as faithful to him as they had been to *Sweden*. The Nobility, the Council, the Magistracy, all endeavoured to shew their Respect to their new Prince, who gained the Love of a People naturally faithful to their Masters. From *Riga* his Majesty went to *Revel*, where he likewise continued some Days, as well to give Orders concerning the Fortifications, as to take Advice for the Re-establishment of the Commerce. Proceeding then to *Petersburgh*, the Hereditary Prince, with his new Spouse, received his Command to follow him. And the whole Czarian Family were soon come together, to attend him in that City. And being now in peaceable Possession of *Livonia*, as that Province had been formerly one of the Fiefs of the Empire, he offered to accept of the Investiture of it from the Emperor *Charles*, provided he might be admitted into the Number of the Princes of the Empire; and on that Condition, and his being allowed to have a Minister at the General Diet, he proposed to furnish his Imperial Majesty with a Succour of 25,000 Men against *France*; the Partiality of whose Minister at *Constantinople* had very much irritated his Majesty. Nevertheless his Offers were not accepted, for Reasons that were only a Pretext; they being afraid to have so powerful a Member in the College of Princes.

The Czar had given Orders for executing the Articles of the Peace of the *Pruth*, and his Generals on the *Black-Sea* were beginning to demolish the Works of
Tai-

Taiganrog and *Asoph*; but fresh Advices from *Turky* put some stop to it. The Grand Vizier had agreed, that the King of *Sweden* should quit the *Ottoman* Territories, which Promise he did what was in his Power to keep; but the King of *Sweden* endeavoured to be beforehand with the Vizier, and to persuade the Sultan, that he had betrayed the Interest of the Empire; complaining, above all, of his not being included in the Treaty. The Vizier being informed of what passed at *Constantinople*, placed a Guard upon all the Roads to *Bender*, with Orders to intercept the King's Letters; by which Means he discovered what were his Designs against him, and was therefore soon brought to a Resolution, in concert with the *Russian* Hostages, to oblige him to depart. For this Reason he gave him to understand, that it was expected he should do so: But the King returning a very haughty Answer, the Vizier stopped his daily Pension, and sent a Detachment of his Army, to be quartered about *Bender*. The King however, found Means to get a Letter conveyed even to the Sultan himself, by the help of one *Sawari*, a Banker at *Bender*, who, being strongly in the King's Interest, put on the Habit of a *Turk*, and got to the *French* Ambassador at *Constantinople*, to whom he not only delivered the Letters of the *Swedish* Monarch, but informed him, by Word of Mouth, of much more than was contained in those Letters. Monsieur *Desalleurs* obtained an Audience, and having delivered his Letters, the Vizier received repeated Orders to return to *Constantinople*, which he did not very readily obey; and being at the Head of his Troops, the Sultan did not care to exasperate him, but used some Dissimulation to get him in his Power. However, he was no sooner separated from his Troops, than the Grand Signior deposed him from his Office, and ordered him to be banished to *Mitylene*, after all his Riches were taken from him. He had held this Office precisely a Year, which was now conferred upon the Bashaw *Jusuf*, Aga of the Janissaries.

All Things now at the *Porte* began to turn in favour of the *Swedish* Faction. The Cham of *Tartary* took up his Residence near *Constantinople*, from whence he often went to the Grand Signior, with whom he had several

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Conferences, the Result of which was to declare War again with *Russia*: Upon which the Sultan wrote a circular Letter to all the Viziers and Bashaws of his Empire, dated the 20th of *December* 1711, wherein he commands those Officers to repair with their Troops to his Camp at *Iffaktze* on the *Danube*, early in the ensuing Spring. To prevent the Consequences of which, the *Russian* Hostages at *Constantinople* desired a Conference with the Vizier, wherein they were supported by the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers; and his Czarish Majesty sent Orders for the Surrender of *Asoph* to the *Turks*, which was accordingly made on the 13th of *January* following. The new Buildings, Suburbs and Fortifications, were all demolished; but the inner Walls were left standing, and 70 Pieces of Cannon, with a House or two, and a small Suburb of the *Cossacks*. *Hassan* Bashaw sent away the Key to the *Porte*; but having only 120 Men in his Retinue, desired a Battallion of *Muscovites* might be left under his Command, to secure him against the *Cossacks* and *Tartars*. The rest marched out with the usual Marks of Honour, under Admiral *Apraxin*, who went to oversee the Demolishing the Works of *Taiganrog*. All Things proceeding thus with mutual Civility, there was Reason to hope the threatened Rupture would soon be accommodated.

In the mean Time the Czar's Marriage with *Catharine Alexovna* was publicly solemnized at *Petersburgh*. He had declared it in private the last Year, to the Empress Dowager his Sister, the Princess *Natalia*, and two other half Sisters, whom he desired to pay all Respect due to her in that Quality. All Preparations being made, on the 20th of *February*, 1712, M. *Kykin*, a Lord of the Admiralty, and Adjutant General *Jaguzinsky*, were sent to invite the Company to his Majesty's Old Wedding. The Czar was married in the Habit of an Admiral, and for that Reason his Sea Officers had the chief Share in the Solemnity of the Day. The Vice-Admiral *Cruys*, and the Rear-Admiral of the Gallies, were the Bridegroom's Fathers; and the Empress Dowager, with the Vice-Admiral's Lady, were the Bride Mothers. The Bride Maids were two of the Empress *Catharine's* own Daughters, one about 5, and the other about

about 3 Years old. The Wedding was performed at 7 o'Clock in the Morning, in a little Chapel belonging to Prince *Menzikoff*. The new-married Couple retired to the Prince's House, and staid there till 10 o'Clock, and then proceeded to the Czar's Palace, where all the Company were gathered according to the Invitation. The Procession was very magnificent. Prince *Menzikoff* carried the Marshal's Staff, and Vice-Admiral *Cruys* was in the Sledge with the Czar at his Right Hand, as his Father. The Entertainment at the Palace was very splendid, and the Evening concluded with a Ball, Fire-works, and Illuminations.

A new Treaty of Peace between the *Turks* and the Czar, was concluded on the 16th of Day of April, 1712, the Articles of which were in Substance: "1. That the Czar shall be obliged, within 30 Days, to withdraw all his Forces out of *Poland*, which shall not return upon any Pretence, unless the King of *Sweden*, being returned into his Dominions, should join with the *Poles* and attack *Muscovy* on that Side. 2. That the *Porte* shall be allowed to procure the Return of the King of *Sweden* into his Dominions, by such a Way, and at such Time as the Grand Signior shall think fit; but in Case that Prince marches through the Territories of *Muscovy*, the *Turkish* Troops who attend him, shall commit no Manner of Hostility. 3. That the Czar shall remain in Possession of *Kiof* and *Ukrania*, with their antient Limits, but shall renounce all Pretensions upon the Country of the *Cossacks* on this Side the *Borysthenes*, and on a certain Island in that River; and that good Orders shall be given to prevent the Excursions of the *Cossacks* and *Tartars*. 4. That no Fortrefs shall be erected between the two Frontier Places of *Asoph* and *Ciruski* by any of the Parties, but that the Grand Signior shall rebuild the Fort of *Cinoli*, over-against *Asoph*. 5. That whereas it was stipulated that *Asoph* shall be restored in the Condition it was in, when the *Muscovites* took it, and there were then in that Place 60 Pieces of Brass Cannon which were not found when it was restored; his Czarish Majesty shall restore the said Artillery, and the *Turks* shall deliver to the *Muscovites* the Iron Cannon they left there. 6. That none of the Parties shall erect any Forts at *Camerski*

menski and *Savar*. 7. That the Peace shall continue 25 Years, but may be prolonged before that Time is elapsed. And lastly, that after the Ratification of this Treaty, the Czar shall send an Ambassador to *Constantinople*, to receive the same." This Treaty was concluded with Sincerity on both Sides, and the Czar was not only speedy in the Ratification of it, but sent Orders towards the *Black Sea*, that his Generals there should proceed conformably to it. He afterwards sent Part of his Troops that were in the *Volhinia*, into the *Ukrain*, and neighbouring Provinces; and those in *Lithuania*, went partly into *Livonia* and *Courland*, and partly into *Pomerania*.

The Sultan, by Letter, acquainted the King of *Sweden* of this Peace; but his Ministers having prepossessed him with an Opinion, that it was chiefly brought about by the Interposition of the *British* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, Sir *Robert Sutton*, and Count *Colyear*, he was pleased to call them Voluntary Mediators: And some having added, that it was wholly owing to the Influence the first had over the Minds of the *Turks*, *Charles* declared War in good earnest against him, both with the Tongue and Pen, complaining that he had been acting under-hand, and concerned himself with excusing the *Muscovites* Continuance in *Poland*. Nay, he pretended to have some Extracts of his Letters to *Vienna*, as Proofs of it; and wrote to *England*, that he had not only traversed the Measures which his Majesty had entered into with the *Porte*, in order to re-establish his Affairs, but had thrown off the Mask, and openly espoused his Enemy's Interest. In short, no less Satisfaction was insisted on by his Majesty, than his being recalled and disgraced.

Prince *Menzikoff* was now gone into *Pomerania*, where the Czar had already 36,000 Men, who were ordered to join the *Danes* and the *Saxons*. His Majesty, before he set out himself, assisted at the launching a Ship of 54 Guns, called the *Pultowa*; and had the Misfortune to hear that one third Part of the City of *Moscow* was burnt to the Ground. Ten Thousand of his Majesty's Troops now kept *Stetin* blocked up: The rest, joined with those of King *Augustus*, were before *Stargard*, when was also in some Manner blocked up by Land. The

Czar, the Czarina, and Czarewitz, being all come in to Pomerania, the Czar had several Conferences with the King of Poland, and these two Monarchs went together to reconnoitre *Stralsund* and the Island of *Rugen*. It was agreed to attack the Island, since by their being Masters of that, it was impossible for *Stralsund* to hold out. The Princes *Menzikoff* and *Kurakin*, and Count *Golowin*, had also several Conferences at *Gripswalde*, with the Counts *Flemming* and *Schembeck*, on making Preparations to execute this Enterprize: But while these were getting ready, they learnt that the *Swedes* had debarked on the Island 8 or 10,000 Men under the Command of General *Steinbock*; and so the Attack of the Island became impracticable. The *Russian* and *Polish* Generals came then to a Resolution at *Gripswalde*, to cast up a Line from thence to *Triptee* and *Damgarten*; which is an Extent of several Miles; and his Czarish Majesty having exhorted the King of *Denmark* to keep a watchful Eye upon the *Swedes*, and left the Command of his Troops to King *Augustus*, took the Route of *Berlin*, where he arrived incognito. He made a Visit, the same Night, to the King of *Prussia*, and was entertained at Supper by the Prince Royal. The next Day, his *Prussian* Majesty, accompanied by his Highness, returned the Visit; and at Night the Czar paid a Visit to the Queen. A few Days after, he set out for *Leipsick*, and from thence to *Carelshad*, where designing to drink the Waters, he signified to all the foreign Ministers, that he would not be attended by any of them, but should soon return to *Berlin*, where he would give them Audience; as he did accordingly.

During his Majesty's Absence, all the Troops that were in the Island of *Rugen*, having been brought over to *Stralsund*, Count *Steinbock* made a Sally from thence with great Success. It was given out that he was going to force the Enemy's Lines; but instead of hazarding so rash an Enterprize, he took, all on a sudden, the Route of *Mecklenbourg*, in passing a Morass formed by the *Ribnitz*, near *Damgarten*, and at *Blommonsdorf* upon Bridges thrown over in haste. The *Swedes* having this Success, their General took Possession of *Rostock*; and put the whole *Dutchy* of *Mecklenbourg* under Contribution.

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The Inhabitants were required to pay two Millions of Florins, upon pain of Military Execution; but being unable to comply, the greatest Part of them removed from their Habitations, with their Cattle and other Effects, into the Territories of the neighbouring Princes. King *Augustus*, in the mean Time, marched towards *Gulrow*, which he surprized, and posted his Troops near that Place, expecting the Conjunction of the *Danes* to attack the *Swedes*. These, having but a small Tract of Land to subsist in, began to think of the Difficulties they should be reduced to, if they were obliged to re-pass the Denle of *Damgarten*, and return to the Island of *Rugen*. This Reason, and the dangerous Consequences of the Loss of a Battle, induced them to hearken to a Cessation of Arms: To which King *Augustus* consented for 3 Months, having considered, that in case of a Battle, and that the *Swedes* should have the Victory, his Electorate would fall a Prey to his Enemy; and that on the other Hand, his Country was like to suffer by his Friends, the *Swedish* *Pomerania* not being able to subsist them; and so many Princes concerning themselves for the Duke of *Mecklenbourg*, he should be forced to recal his Troops from thence, and to give Quarters to the *Muscovites* in his own Dominions.

The Czar was at *Berlin* when he received an Account of this Agreement, which was not at all pleasing to him. He seemed to have some Jealousy of the Designs of *Augustus*, whom he suspected to be carrying on a private Treaty with the *Swedes*; for which Reason his Majesty hastened into *Mecklenbourg* to provide for a Junction with the King of *Denmark*, who had advanced as far as *Gadebusch* with his Troops. Some *Saxon* Squadrons joined him; but the *Russians* could not do so before the *Swedes* had attacked the *Danish* Army, who were entirely defeated. The other *Saxons* rejoined the *Russians*, that they might be in a Condition to oppose the victorious *Swedes*, who they imagined would take the Route of *Pomerania*, to penetrate into *Poland*: But Count *Steinbock*, far from acting thus, advanced his Troops toward *Jutland*, in order to take up his Quarters in *Holftein*. The Czar deliberated for some Time, whether he should attack *Steinbock* in his March; but at length resolved to

go towards *Pomerania*, and afterwards, in concert with the King of *Denmark*, agreed to open the next Campaign with the Attack of *Rügen*, and the Siege of *Stralsund*.

Whilst the Czar was exposing himself to all these Fatigues, new Troubles were fomented in *Turky*, and new Enemies attacked his Troops in *Poland*. On the other Hand, his Subjects used all Means to make *Petersburgh* one of the most magnificent Cities of *Europe*; and the Fame of this great Monarch's Actions reaching to the Center of *Asia*, brought at this Time an Ambassador from *Persia*, who made a publick Entry into *Moscow*, where he waited the Return of his Majesty. There was something uncommonly grand in this Entry; there being no less than 900 Waggon, loaded with Baggage and Merchandizes, and 400 Secretaries or Clerks, Sword in Hand, commanded by proper Officers, at the Head of it. The whole Cavalcade was equally superb.

The Starost *Grudzinski*, who had gone into *Turky* to the King of *Sweden*, undertook to make an Irruption into *Poland*, with about 4000 Men, *Cossacks*, *Valacks*, and other Troops gathered together. He penetrated into *Great Poland*, as far as *Pisdry*, from whence he carried off the Regiment of General *Baur*; Colonel *Gordon*, who had the Command of it, nor any of the Officers, in the least apprehending that they had Enemies so near them. Another Party got as far as *Schawerin*, beyond *Pofnania*, where was a Magazine guarded by 300 *Russians*, who made a brave Defence, and killed many of the Enemy before they would yield. In short, this Irruption was attended with such Success, that if the King of *Sweden* and *Potocky* had been there, with the rest of the Troops, their Party must certainly have been restored to as great Power as ever. General *Baur*, informed of what had happened, left *Pomerania*, and came Post to *Pofnania*, where assembling with all Speed a Body of 4000 *Russians*, he was joined by 80 Companies of the Crown Army; and then Fortune turned on a sudden against *Grudzinski*, who was surprized by *Baur*, as he had surprized his Regiment at *Pisdry*, so that he had not Time to decamp, but in great Confusion. He and his Party were warmly pursued and overtaken at *Kruterschein*.

sehein. *Grudzinski*, and the Officers under him; immediately abandoned their Troops, and retired into *Silesia*. The *Polanders* who were of this Party, presently surrendered to the Troops of the Crown, with whom they made some Capitulation, and came together against the rest of the Party, composed of *Germans*, *Cossacks*, and *Valacks*. Some of the last took to flight; but about 2000 of them threw down their Arms, and surrendered.

This Invasion was a just Subject of Complaint from the Czar against the *Turks*, who had thereby violated the last Treaty: Which gave Occasion to Velt-Mareschal *Czeremetoff* to publish his *Universalis*, wherein he complained of that, and of the Conduct of the Nobles of *Gracov*, *Siradia*, and *Calish*, who had favoured the Invasion. He gave notice to the Inhabitants of *Great* and *Little Poland*, that if they did not behave with more Moderation, his Czarish Majesty would re-enter *Poland*, with all his Troops. The King of *Sweden*, tho' it was his Party that had been the Aggressors, did not fail of making Use of this, and clamoured loudly against the *Russians*, who had pursued some of the *Cossacks* quite into the *Turkish* Territories; and the Sultan, suffering himself to be prevailed on by the Cham of *Tartary*, M. *Desalleurs* and the Ministers of *Sweden*, broke once more the last Treaty, on pretence of there being some *Russian* Troops yet remaining in *Poland*: But on all other Account, it could not be denied that the Treaty of *Pruth* had been executed. The Sultan, in order to be satisfied whether the Czar had any Forces in *Poland* or not, sent an Aga, to enquire into it, who, being in the *Swedish* Interest, made his Report accordingly. The Sultan hereupon, who had some Intelligence of the Grand Vizier *Fusuf's* being bribed to the Czar's Interest, immediately deposed him, and gave the Seal to *Solyman Basbaw*: And having, as he thought, wherewithal to convince the *Mufti* of the *Muscovites* violating the Treaty, he assembled his Council, before whom, when he had given some other Reasons for his Intention, the *Mufti* offering to give his Consent to declare War, his Highness made him write it down upon the Spot, and immediately ordered the two *Muscovite* Ambassadors, and the two Hostages, to be carried Prisoners to the *Seven Towers*.

Orders were sent to all the Bashaws to raise new Troops, and the Grand Signior came with his whole Court to *Adrianople*, whither a solemn Embassy was coming to him from King *Augustus*, with a Retinue of 300 Persons, all of whom he ordered to be seized on the Road, and imprisoned. But notwithstanding all this Prelude, the Sultan's Favourite, *Ali Coumourgi*, having Designs in view which made him desire the Czar for an Ally, and King *Augustus* finding Means to bring him over to his Interest, Affairs took another Turn; and the Sultan, persuaded that the Aga sent into *Poland* had given a false Report, was inclined again to hearken to an Accommodation. The Grand Vizier and Musti, both Creatures of the Favourite, tho' they had given their Votes for War, when they found that was no longer pleasing to *Ali Coumourgi*, came as readily into Terms of Peace. After several Negotiations with *Schafroff* and young *Czeremetoff*, the Czar's Plenipotentiaries, it was promised by them, that their Master's Troops should effectually evacuate *Poland*. On the other Side, the King of *Sweden* was to be sent out of the *Turkish* Dominions. The Sultan stipulated that the Ambassadors of *Muscovy* and *Poland* should be responsible for the Security of his Person; and that he, on the other Hand, should raise no Commotions in *Poland*.

The Serasquier of *Bender* went, by Order of the Grand Signior, to *Varnitsa*, where *Charles* was then encamped, to acquaint him with the Resolution of the *Porte*, and to let him know, that it was expected he should comply without making any Delay. The King told the Bashaw that he must first have wherewithal to pay his Debts, and furnish him with Conveniences for his Journey; but this was only an Excuse, he being determined not to depart. The Bashaw asking him how much would be requisite, the King answered, 1000 Purfes, which is above 100,000 *l.* Sterling. The Bashaw writing to the *Porte* on this Head, instead of 1000, had 1200 Purfes sent him, but with express Orders not to deliver them till his Departure: But he, and his Treasurer *Grothusen*, having prevailed upon the Bashaw to let them have the Money, he still persisted in his Resolution of continuing where he was, in spite of all that could

could be said by the Bashaw. The Cham of *Tartary*, who was to conduct him on his March, had received Orders likewise to see that the Purfes were not delivered till he was ready to depart: So that both he and the Bashaw were forced to write to the *Porte*, to clear themselves to the Sultan, and protest that they were deceived by his solemn Promise of going away immediately. This occasioned a positive Order to be sent to the Cham and Bashaw, to oblige him to go out of the *Turkish* Dominions by Force, or to bring him dead or alive to *Adrianople*. *Charles* could not be persuaded but that the Cham and Bashaw were in a Confederacy to deliver him up to his Enemies; therefore continued obstinate in his Refusal, which forced them to put the Sultan's Orders in Execution: Upon which followed the famous Action of *Bender*, wherein he gave most extravagant Proofs of his Bravery, opposing, with undaunted Resolution, 26,000 *Turks* and *Tartars*, with only the Officers of his Household, and about 300 *Swedes*.

CHAP. IV.

The Czar takes Frederickstadt, and drives Steinbock into Tonningen. Makes a Descent into Finland; takes Abo. Battle of Pulkona. The Czar settles the Russian Trade at Petersburg. Obtains a Victory at Sea, and makes a Naval Triumph. Receives an Ambassador from the Ubeck Tartars. Institutes the Order of St. Catherine. Makes an Enquiry into several Frauds. Sequestration of Pomerania. Stralsund taken. The Czar erects an Academy at Petersburg. A Son born to the Czarewicz. Death of his Consort. The Czarin delivered of a Son. Death and Interment of the Czarina Dowager.

THE Military Operations still went on, in the *Swedish* Provinces in *Germany*. General *Steinbock* was encompassed in *Holstein*, and caught, as it were, in a Net, by the Management of the *Danish* General and his *Czarish* Majesty: For after the Battle of *Gadebusch*, the Czar, with a Body of his Troops, passed the *Stecknis*,
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and went with Prince *Menzikoff* into *Hamburg*, where he had several long Conferences with General *Scholtzen*. From *Hamburg* he went to *Altena*, that had been lately burnt by the *Swedes*, in revenge for the *Danes* having destroyed *Stade*. The miserable Inhabitants were forced, in extreme cold Weather, to take up their Lodgings on the Snow, while their Houses and Effects were all burnt. The *Russian* Monarch beheld with Grief the Ruins of the Place, and ordered 1000 Roubles to be distributed among the unfortunate Citizens. In the mean Time the Troops made several Motions, as well to inclose the *Swedes*, as to facilitate the Junction of the *Danes* and *Russians*. The Czar sent General *Baur* to attack a Body of *Swedes*, who defended the Bridge of *Hollingsfiedt*; and tho' they made a stout Resistance, yet the *Russian* General, at the Head of 4000 Men, carried the Post, took several Prisoners, and afterwards broke down the Bridge. General *Steinbock*, perceiving that he had made a false Step in taking that Route, was willing to repair it by retreating the *Eyder*; but being informed that the *Russian* Cavalry was in full March, he was obliged to intrench himself between *Fredericksstadt*, *Husum*, and *Tonningen*. But on the 12th of *February*, the Czar, putting himself at the Head of five Battalions of his Guards, and some Dragoons, went in Person, and attacked the *Swedes* in their Intrenchments; and, after a very long Resistance, drove away the Enemy, who were obliged to retire to the main Body of their Army: Upon which the *Swedish* Garrison in *Fredericksstadt* betook themselves to Flight, with much Precipitation. The *Russians* pursued the Enemy for some Time, taking Part of their Baggage, and making about 300 of them Prisoners, with the Loss of only one Lieutenant, and some Dragoons and Grenadiers: His Majesty entered the Town the same Day, and lay there all Night.

The Fear that General *Steinbock* was in of being attacked, made him use all his Endeavours to engage Colonel *Wolf*, Governor of *Tonningen*, in *Holstein*, to give him leave to bring his Army into that Place. It is on what passed at this Time, that the King of *Denmark* founds his Pretensions of keeping the Country of *Holstein*, which he took from Duke *Charles Frederick*, who afterwards

wards became Son-in-Law to the Czar. This Prince was brought up at *Stockholm*; his Uncle, the Bishop of *Lubeck*, being appointed Administrator of his Dukedom. His Father, *Frederick IV.* had been killed at the Battle of *Cliffau*, Anno 1702; when a Neutrality was agreed to for the States of the young Duke. There was only this Fortress of *Tonningen* in all *Holstein*, where an Asylum could be found for *Steinbock*; who therefore made the most pressing Instances to the young Duke, to provide for the Safety of the *Swedish* Army, by giving Orders to the Commandant to receive them under the Cannon, or even into the Place, if Necessity required it. The Motives made use of were so strong, that the Duke sent an Order for that Purpose. But the Consent of the Administrator was likewise thought necessary, without which it was feared the Commandant would scruple to comply with their Desire. The Administrator made more Difficulty in the Affair than his Nephew had done, and would not come into it, without stipulating certain Conditions with General *Steinbock*; nor had he done it at all, if it had not been made appear to him, that the Neutrality was but little regarded by the *Danes*, who lived as they pleased in all Parts of *Sleswick-Holstein*. He did comply however at last, and the *Swedish* Troops being received into the Fortress, was what gave an Opportunity to the King of *Denmark* to seize on the Duchy of *Sleswick*, and put it under Sequestration, as he did soon after the Duchy of *Holstein*.

The Retreat of *Steinbock* into *Tonningen* put an End to the Campaign, the Season not being proper either to besiege or bombard that Place; and the *Russian* Troops went into Quarters so convenient, that they could prevent the *Swedes* passing the *Eyder*. On the 23d of *February* 1713, the Czar took Leave of the King of *Denmark*, trusting to him the Command of his Troops, after having recommended to his Generals the observing a strict Discipline. He assured his Danish Majesty, that he was going to find Employment for the *Saxons* on the Side of *England*; and he was as good as his Word. He went next to *Hanover*, and was received with all imaginable Respect at the Court of the Elector; conversing often with Princess *Sophia*, for whom he had conceived a very

great Esteem. From *Hanover* he went to the Court of *Wolfenbittel*, where he used his good Offices to reconcile the Princess and the Czarowitz, and engaged her to come to *Petersburgh*. From *Wolfenbittel* he went to *Schombhausen*, where he had an Interview with the King of *Prussia*, who had just then succeeded his Father, and was come on purpose to throw himself in the Way of the Czar, that he might consult with him on the Affairs of *Pomerania*. The Czar hastened through *Dantzick* and *Koningsberg* to *Riga*, where he found the Czarina delivered of a Princess, to whom he gave the Name of *Maria Petrowna*.

As soon as the Czar arrived at *Petersburgh*, he got together at *Revel*, *Narva*, and other Ports of the Gulph, about 300 Vessels, upon which he embarked, in the Beginning of *May*, 12,000 Men, who, being carried by a favourable Wind to the Coasts of *Finland*, landed at *Helsingfors*. A Body of *Swedish* Troops, under General *Lubekker*, dared not oppose his Descent; but burnt their Barracks, and retired to *Abo*, to make Head against the Enemy behind the Walls of their Capital. The Czar, not thinking himself strong enough to attack them, was contented to make *Bergo* a Place of Arms, and prepare a good Magazine there; after which he returned to *Petersburgh*, to send a Convoy thither. While this was getting ready, the Vice-Admiral put to Sea with 12 Men of War and 5 Frigates, with a Design to take or burn 3 *Swedish* Vessels that were before *Helsingfors*. But the Vice-Admiral's Ship striking on a Quicksand, he was obliged to burn it; and some of the Captains managed with very little Skill. However, this ill Success put no Stop to the Czar's Progress, but he returned with the second Convoy; which enabled Prince *Gallitzin* to form an Army of 20,000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, who were followed by a good Train of Artillery. The Czar put out to Sea himself, with 20 Frigates, to go in quest of a Squadron of *Swedish* Ships; but having learnt that they were so advantageously posted, that there was no Possibility of attacking them, he abandoned this Project, and rejoined his Army at *Schrenda*, 5 Leagues from *Helsingfors*. On the 2d of *September* the *Russians* forced the Passage of *Carelsoio*, which was defended by 800 *Swedes*.

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This opened to them the Way to *Abo*, where the *Russian* Army arrived on the 8th, and found the Place abandoned to them, with much Provision in it. But the greatest Booty was a large Number of Books, which he sent to *Petersburgh*, towards furnishing the Library he was making there.

After the taking of *Abo*, his Majesty returned to *Petersburgh*; ordering his Generals to follow the *Swedish* Army that was on the Side of *Tharvasthus*, and which consisted of 9 or 10,000 Men. Tho' *Tharvasthus* is not a Place of any Strength, yet the *Swedes* defended it for some Time, and then quitted it to retire among the Mountains and Bogs, having thrown some of their Artillery into the Water. They posted themselves at the Passage of *Pulkana*, which they guarded with Cannon. The *Russians* followed them in their Retreat, but at the Sight of the Post they were in, made a Halt, and were obliged to throw up an Intrenchment to cover themselves. They then endeavoured to take them in the Rear, by passing very deep Morassies, which they did with about 7000 Men, commanded by the Lieutenant Generals *Apraxin* and *Butterlin*, and Major General *Tjermischew*. *Arnsfeldt*, who commanded the *Swedes*, having Notice of their Design, sent some Regiments to support 400 Horse, posted where the *Russians* were to come over. Prince *Gallitzin* first attacked the *Swedish* Horse, to whose Assistance *Arnsfeldt* advanced with four or five Regiments, which occasioned an obstinate Battle. The *Russians* were drove back by the Cavalry almost into the Water; but the other Wing, who were only engaged with the *Swedish* Infantry, charged with such Vigour that it made them retire. At length Admiral *Apraxin*, with *Bruce*, *Gollowin*, and *Wolonski*, who brought up the Rear, charged the *Swedes* so briskly, that they made them betake themselves to Flight, with full Speed, towards *Norell* and *Tammerfort*. Thus the Victory fell to the *Russians*, who lost indeed 700 Men; but the Enemy had a greater Number slain and taken Prisoners, besides the Loss of several Pieces of Cannon. The Czar caused *Tharvasthus* to be fortified, to stop the Incursions of the *Swedes* in Winter.

The

The King of Denmark, assisted by the *Russians*, was successful in reducing *Tonningen* and General *Steinbock*, who having maintained his Post as long as he could, was at length, through Want and Hunger, forced to surrender himself and all his Forces Prisoners of War. And as it was not possible to form the Siege of *Stralsund* without being Masters of the Island of *Rügen*, the *Russians* and *Saxons*, aided by the *Danes*, executed this Design with good Success, on the 23d of July, without any other Loss than five or six Men. Prince *Menzikoff* had for some Time blocked up *Stetin*, with 24,000 *Russians*; and, according to an Agreement with the King of *Prussia*, that Town, with the rest of the High *Swedish Pomerania*, were sequestered into his Hands, as *Holstein* had been into the Hands of the King of *Denmark*; and so the Allies were obliged to withdraw their Troops out of the *Swedish* Provinces in *Germany*. In this Retreat, Prince *Menzikoff* coming into the Territories of *Hamburg*, threatened that City with Military Executions, if the Citizens did not pay him 500,000 Crowns; but the Demand was compounded for half. The City of *Lubeck* paid him 100,000, and the City of *Dantzick* 150,000. With these Contributions the Prince returned to *Petersburgh*, where the *Czar*, tho' very well satisfied with the Success of his Arms, could not approve of the Sequestration of *Pomerania*, and therefore refused at first to ratify the Treaty made with *Menzikoff*, giving some Reasons against it to the King of *Prussia*; but these were so well answered, that he was satisfied, and undertook to find Employment for his Troops elsewhere, which was no difficult Matter.

The Emperor, and the Powers interested in the War of the North, had agreed to hold a Congress at *Branswick*, whither the Regency of *Sweden* consented to send their Plenipotentiaries, and where several Ministers were already arrived. But this Project came to nothing. The *Czar*, who desired only a good Peace, that might confirm to him the quiet Possession of his Conquests, foresaw the little Success that was like to attend this Undertaking; and therefore, that he might not give his Enemies Time to recover themselves, took all necessary Measures, during the Winter, to pursue his Con-

Conquests in *Finland*. Still keeping in View his great Design, of perfecting the Establishment of *Petersburgh*, he caused at this Time 1000 Families to come thither from *Moscow*: He offered likewise great Advantages to all Foreigners that should settle there, and published an Order through all *Muscovy*, declaring, that the Goods that were usually sent to *Archangel*, should from thenceforth be sent to *Petersburgh*; requiring all Merchants and others to acquaint their Correspondents with this Regulation, and that the Duties which were to be paid at *Petersburgh* should, in every Respect, be the same as was paid before. He also made publick Declaration, that if the Regency of *Sweden* should stop any Vessels coming towards his Dominions, he was in a Condition to hinder them from entering the Ports of *Sweden*. And, besides a great Number of Gallies and Barks, which he had ordered to be built, he bought several in *England* and *Holland*, which he gave Orders to have equipped at *Revel*.

Prince *Galiczin* had not remained idle since the Battle of *Pulkona*, but kept harrassing the *Swedens* continually, who making a running Fight of it, almost all *Finland* was under Contribution. At length the *Russians*, near *Lapla*, came up with *Arnfeldt*, who had intrenched himself there with 8 or 9000 Men, one Part of which were ill-armed Peasants. The *Russian* General attacked them. They stood firm at first, and repulsed the *Russians*; but when they returned to the Charge, the Peasants took to their Heels, and drew the Soldiers after them. This Victory was of the more Importance to the *Russians*, because by it they were become entire Masters of *Finland*. The *Czar*, soon after this Conquest, caused a Manifesto to be published, wherein he represented, that having proposed an equitable Peace to *Sweden*, and that Crown having rejected all such Offers, the *Swedish* Nation could blame no body but themselves, for all the Miseries and Calamities which might fall upon them.

In the Beginning of June, 1714, Colonel *Schubajeff*, Governor of *Wybourg*, had Orders to march with 1000 Men, and a sufficient Train of Artillery, to attack the capital Fortrefs of *Savolaxia*, called *Nyssot*. The Governor appeared before the Place on the 8th of June, and

and took Post on a little Island named *Malm*, whence he drove the *Swedes*, who had lodged themselves there to dispute his Passage. He then caused Batteries to be raised at proper Places, and on the 28th a sufficient Breach being made, the *Swedish* Governor was summoned. He, considering that he had a Retreat to a fortified Castle, and that the Approach to the Town was defended by a rapid Stream, would not hearken at first to any Propositions: But when he saw that the *Russians* were getting ready Floats of Timber, and that they appeared determined to make the Assault, he consented to a Capitulation; pursuant to which, the Place was surrendered to the *Muscovites* the next Day.

The *Swedes* had fitted out their Fleet to succour *Finland*, or rather to observe the *Russians*, lest they should make some Descent on the Island of *Aland*, or even in *Sweden* itself. Admiral *Watrang*, with this Fleet, at first gained some Advantages on the Coast of *Abo*, where they sunk some *Russian* Vessels, took about 200 Prisoners, and seized on the Port of *Tweravin*. The *Czar's* Fleet consisted of 30 Ships of the Line, the greatest Part of which had been built in *England* and *Holland*, and were now at *Revel* to be victualled. These 30 Ships were followed by some Frigates and Yachts, by 80 Galleys, and 100 Demi-Galleys, without reckoning a great Number of flat Boats called *Schampanvies*. This Fleet was got together under *Cronstot*, whither the *Swedes* intended to go and burn it: But the Advice-Yachts making Report, that they had perceived the *Swedish* Vice-Admiral *Lilie* standing out to Sea with 14 Men of War, the *Russian* Rear-Admiral desired the Admiral to order him to take a View of the Enemy, and to detach him with 25 Gallies towards the Isles nearest the *Swedish* Fleet. This was approved, and the Rear-Admiral, who was the *Czar* himself, was no sooner arrived in full View of the Enemy's Station, than he observed that the *Swedish* Admiral continued there with 6 Men of War of the Line, and 3 Frigates, and that the Vice-Admiral was steering his Course towards the South East, having with him Bomb-Vessels; whence he judged that his Design might be to attack the *Russian* Fleet at *Revel*, or their Gallies. The Rear Admiral immediately

ately sent an Account of this in Writing to the Admiral, and desired him to come and join him the next Morning. After some Deliberation, the Resolution was taken to detach 20 Gallies to endeavour to pass behind the Enemy's Fleet as near to the Coast as was practicable, by favour of a Calm which happened at that Time; and this was executed under the Command of Commodore *Ismaïewitz*, Brigadier *Wolcöff*, and Captain *Bredake*. The Enemy perceiving it, immediately gave the Signal for weighing Anchor, and making ready to sail, and fired very hard at the *Russian* Gallies: But the Bullets could not reach them, by reason of the too great Distance; and their large Ships could not approach nearer to the Shore. The Admiral seeing those 20 Gallies had passed so successfully, detached 15 more under Brigadier *Le Fort*, the Captains *Dumont* and *Grier*, who passed likewise by rowing. Hereupon the *Swedish* Admiral put abroad a white Ensign, which was a Signal for his Vice-Admiral to return. In the mean while, it being known that the Enemy had a Frigate, 6 Gallies, and 3 less Vessels, at the Place where the *Russians* designed to put ashore, *Ismaïewitz* judged it best to attack them: But it was too late; and besides, the *Swedish* Vice-Admiral had joined Admiral *Watrang*. The *Russian* Admiral at the same Time determined to attempt to force a Passage, if it should be necessary, through the Enemy's Fleet, which had changed their Station a little, to go and assist the Gallies. The next Day this Resolution, tho' very hazardous, was executed with so great Order and Success, that the *Russians* passed close by the Enemy, sustaining all their Fire, with the Loss only of one Galley. All the Fleet having passed thus, Commodore *Ismaïewitz* gave Notice that he had block'd up the Enemy's Rear-Admiral: Whereupon the *Russian* Admiral *Apraxin* ranged the Fleet in Order of Battle, sent Adjutant-General *Jaguzinsky* to summon the *Swedish* Rear-Admiral *Ehrenschild* to surrender, and, on his Refusal, caused him to be attacked by the Vanguard at 3 in the Afternoon so vigorously, that, notwithstanding the superior Fire of the Enemy, the Frigate, as also the Gallies, were taken by Boarding. The Rear-Admiral *Ehrenschild*, having first taken down his Flag, leaped

leaped into a Shallop to endeavour his Escape; but he was taken, after some Resistance, by Captain *Bakeoff*.

This Attack by the *Russian* Vanguard, was conducted by the Czar, Rear-Admiral of his own Fleet, and by General *Weide*; and the Bravery which the Officers and Soldiers shewed in the Action, cannot be sufficiently set forth. The *Swedens* lost 936 Soldiers and Sailors, of whom 577 were made Prisoners. The *Russians* had in the whole 124 killed, and 341 wounded. The *Swedish* Vessels, in which were 116 Guns, with all the Prisoners, were sent to *Revel*. The first Consequence of this Victory, was the Taking the Island of *Aland*, where the Czar landed 16,000 Men; designing to transport thither his Forces encamped near *Abo*; from whence, having but 12 Leagues to the Coasts of *Sweden*, he thought to make a Descent at *Stockholm*: But the Season of the Year not permitting his Majesty to execute so important an Enterprize, and being covered with Laurels already, he retook the Route of *Revel*, and from thence returned to *Petersburgh*, into which City he made a most triumphant Entry, surrounded with *Swedish* Prisoners and Prizes. He appeared himself only as Rear-Admiral; and as soon as his Majesty came under the Triumphal Arch, all the Senators, Grandees, and Foreign Ministers, repaired thither to congratulate him upon his Victory. The Governor of *Moscow*, in the Name of the Empire, complimented him on his Bravery, and thank'd him for his good Services. The triumphal Arch was most magnificently adorned, and represented divers Emblems. Among others was the *Russian* Eagle seizing an Elephant, with this Inscription; *The Eagle catches no Flies*; alluding to the Name of a *Swedish* Frigate, called *The Elephant*. The Victorious and Vanquished proceeded to the Fortrefs, where the Vice-Czar *Romadonofski* sitting on a Throne, surrounded by the Senate, caused the Czar, as Rear-Admiral, to be called before the Assembly, and received at his Hands a Relation in Writing of the Victory obtained. The same being read by *Romadonofski* and the Senators, they took it under Consideration, and proposed several Questions to the Rear-Admiral; After which, they unanimously declared him Vice-Admiral of *Russia*, in Reconpence for his faithful

ful Services done to his native Country, the whole Room resounding with, *Health to the Vice-Admiral*. The Czar, having returned Thanks, went on board his Sloop, on which he hoisted the Flag of Vice-Admiral; and having received many Compliments, went to Prince *Meizikoff's* Palace, where a noble Entertainment was prepared.

After being risen from Table, he shewed particular Marks of Esteem to M. *Ehrenschild*, and said to all the Noble *Russians* standing about him: *Here you see a brave and faithful Servant of his Master, who has made himself worthy of the highest Reward at his Hands, and who shall always have my Favour as long as he is with me, though he has killed me many a brave Russian. I forgive it you*, (said he, turning to the *Swede* with a Smile) *and you may depend upon my Good will. Ehrenschild* having thanked the Czar, answered: *However honourably I may have acted with regard to my Master, I did but my Duty. I sought Death* (having received seven Wounds); *but did not meet with it; and it is no small Comfort to me in my Misfortune, to be a Prisoner of your Majesty, and to be used so favourably, and with so much Distinction, by so great a Sea Officer, and now worthy Vice-Admiral*. M. *Ehrenschild* affirmed, that the *Russians* had fought like Lions, and that nothing but his own Experience could have convinced him, that the Czar had made to good Soldiers of his stupid Subjects. One of the Ships which had a Share in this Victory, had been built at *Petersburgh*; upon which Occasion, the Czar being on board his new Vessel, with several old *Russians* sitting about him, addressed the following Discourse to them.

“Brethren, said he, who is that Man among you, who 30 Years ago could have had only the Thought of being employ'd with me in Ship-Carpenter's Work here in the *Baltick*; of coming hither in a *German* Dress to settle in these Countries conquered by our Fatigues and Bravery; of living to see so many brave and victorious Soldiers and Seamen sprung from *Russian* Blood; to see our Sons coming home able Men from foreign Countries; to see so many foreign Artificers and Handicraftsmen settling in our Dominions, and to see the remotest

est Potentates express so great an Esteem for us? The Historians place the ancient Seat of all Sciences in *Greece*, from whence being expelled by the Fatality of the Times, they spread into *Italy*, and afterwards dispersed themselves all over *Europe*; but by the Perverseness of our Ancestors were hindered from penetrating any farther than into *Poland*; though the *Polanders*, as well as the *Germans*, formerly groped in the same Darkness in which we have lived hitherto; but the indefatigable Care of their Governors open'd their Eyes at length, that they made themselves Masters of those Arts, Sciences, and Improvements of Life that formerly *Greece* boasted of. It is now our Turn, if you will seriously second my Designs, and add to your blind Obedience a voluntary Knowledge, and employ yourselves to the Enquiry of Good and Evil. I can compare this Transmigration of Sciences with nothing better than the Circulation of the Blood in the human Body; and my Mind almost gives me, they will some Time or other, quit their Abode in *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, and come to settle for some Centuries among us, and, perhaps, afterwards return again to their original Home into *Greece*. In the mean Time, I earnestly recommend to your Practice the *Latin* Saying, *Ora Et Labora*, Pray and Work; and in that Case be persuaded, you may happen, even in your Life-Time, to put other civilized Nations to the Blush, and to carry the Glory of the *Russian* Name to the highest Pitch."

The *Russians* heard this Harangue of their Monarch with a respectful Silence, often crying out, *That is true*; adding, that they were all disposed to follow his Orders, and to set him before them for an Example. This confirms the Judgment made of him, by Rear-Admiral *Ebrenschild*, and the Idea that most Men had of his great Capacity, the Extent of his Genius, and his fine Understanding. Those who had the Honour to be about him, could not but own that he was the most judicious Minister, the most experienced General, Officer, and Soldier, in the *Russian* Empire; the most learned of all the *Russian* Theologists or Philosophers; very well versed in History and Mechanicks; an able Ship-builder,

builder, and a good Sailor: And altho' in all Arts he practised he had but mean Disciples, obstinate and illiterate, yet he set them all on a good Foot, and disciplined his Troops in such a Manner, especially his Infantry, that there were no Troops in the World they would yield to.

Things were in this State, when *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden*, returned to his Dominions, after the most remarkable Action of *Bender*, wherein he had done more than ever *Roman* durst feign to do. He was carried Prisoner, by the Sultan's Order, to *Adrianople*, and kept for some Time under Confinement in the Borough of *Dimotica*, 'till, by the Interposition of the *French* Ambassador, the *Porte* was prevailed on to use him with less Rigour. He was then sent to a Village called *Demirtash*, in Hopes the *French* Ambassador would be able to dispose him to leave the *Turkish* Dominions, and return Home by Sea: But he continued obstinate, and immoveably persisted in his first Designs; feeding himself with vain Expectations, that, by his Intrigues at the *Porte*, he should be able to kindle a new War between the Czar and the *Turks*. But finding himself disappointed herein, and even slighted by the *Turks*, he was forced by mere Necessity to quit their Territories: And, having passed incognito through *Transilvania*, *Hungary*, *Austria*, and *Germany*, arrived at *Stralsund* on the 22d of *November* in the Night, attended only by Colonel *During*, and two Servants, after having rode near 300 *German* Leagues in 16 Days, and not once had his Boots off in that Time. He was complimented on his Return by all the neighbouring Princes, who were desirous to bring him, if possible, to listen to a Peace. But he was of a Temper not to suffer Mediators to prescribe Laws to him, and therefore his first Thoughts were bent upon raising 25,000 Men in *Pomerania*, and Money to support the necessary Expence of renewing the War.

The Courage of the *Swedes* was very much revived at the Return of their Prince, which had been so greatly sunk before by the many Losses they had sustained. That Prince did not think fit to declare his Mind on the Propositions made him immediately after his Return; First, To confirm the Treaty for the Sequestration of *Stetin*; and,

and, 2dly, To promise to forbear all Hostilities against the Danes and Saxons within the Empire; his Prussian Majesty engaging, that the Kings of Poland and Denmark should not attack the Swedish Pomerania. And his not declaring himself on these Articles, was looked upon as a plain Indication of his Design of renewing the War in Lower Saxony, for recovering the Dutchy of Bremen, yielded by the King of Denmark to the Elector of Hanover, just then ascended the Throne of Great Britain; and for restoring the Ducal House of Holstein. The King of Prussia therefore assembled his Forces, to be in a Readiness for securing Stetin, and preserving the Peace of Lower Saxony, in concert with the House of Brunswick, and other Princes. The Czar, on the other Hand, declared, that as he withdrew his Troops from Pomerania only on Account of the Instances of the King of Prussia, he was resolved to send a powerful Army to assist his Allies in reducing the Island of Rugen, the Fortresses of Stralsund and Wismar, and to drive the Swedes entirely out of Germany, unless the King of Sweden accepted the Propositions of the King of Prussia. But the Joy of the Swedes, upon the first News of the Arrival of their King in Pomerania, was very much lessened by his Resolution to continue the War in Germany, and his forbidding all his Subjects to come to him without express Leave. He promised them, that he would give such a Diversion to the Forces of the Czar, as should oblige him to abandon his Enterprizes against Sweden.

In the mean Time, the Czar, having gained the Sea Victory before related, was so much encouraged to augment his Fleet, that he had next Summer 50 Ships of the Line of Battle, and resolved to engage the whole Swedish Fleet, in order to carry on his Design of attacking Stockholm. But his Majesty, even when most embarrassed with his Wars abroad, neglected no Opportunity of improving the Manners of his People at home. Being sensible that all the Pains he took to polish his Nobility, would be to no Purpose, unless he could also inspire the Fair Sex with the same Politeness, he made an Order at this Time, that such of the Nobility who were of Age, and marry'd, should take their Wives along with them in their Travels, by which Means both Sexes might become

come equally polished. The Ladies were infinitely pleased with this, for they were now to be allowed a reasonable Freedom; whereas before they were under a barbarous Slavery.

The Renown of the Czar's Exploits having spread through the vast Dominions of the Usbeck Tartars, which border upon China, Indostan, and Persia, brought to his Court this Year an Ambassador from their Can, or Cham, who arrived at Petersburg on the 17th of May, and had Audience of the Czar the next Day, according to a Ceremonial agreed upon. His Commission consisted of three Articles, 1st, That his Master rejoiced at his Czarish Majesty's Success in War, and the Increase of his Power, and recommended himself to his Protection. 2dly, He desired the Czar to enjoin his Vassal, the Tartarian Can Ajuga, to keep good Neighbourhood and Peace with him: For which the Can of Usbeck offered in Acknowledgment 50,000 Soldiers to the Czar, who should be ready to march upon his Command. 3dly, he offered a Passage through his Dominions for the Czar's yearly Caravans to China, and even proposed to enter into a Treaty of Commerce with Russia; by which an incredible Advantage was to accrue to his Czarish Majesty. He afterwards laid many Silks, and other Chinese and Persian Goods, together with exquisite Furs, at the Czar's Feet, as a Present from his Master; telling him withal, that he left some Persian Beasts behind him at Moscow, and expressing his Concern that a fine Leopard and an Ape died on the Road. In this Speech he stiled the Czar The wise Emperor, which with these Tartars is the highest Title of Honour. The Ambassador's Name was Aijcherbi; he was about 50 Years of Age, of a lively and venerable Aspect; had been Governor to his Prince, and was now his Chief Minister. After the Audience, the Czar sent to him to go with the Great Chancellor, Count Golofkin, on board a Snow, and follow him to Cronstot, which he did the next Day at the Hour appointed; but by the Unskilfulness of the Russian Captain, they got among the Flats, and the Snow, at length, struck on the Sand. The Sailors worked long before they got off, and afterwards so violent a Storm arose, as had not been known in those Parts for four Years. The Am-

Ambassador, who had never been on such a Sea before, turned pale, and caused his Priest to sit down on his Knees before him, and read something out of a Book of the Prophet *Aly*. But the next Day they arrived safe, when the Czar coming on board the Snow, the *Tartar* entertained him with some of his Country Fruits, and a Relation of many Particulars concerning its Extent and Government.

About this Time, a Draught of a Bridge was laid before the Czar, which some thought would be very convenient to be built over *Neva*, to join *Petersburgh* to the Continent of *Ingria*, from whence there was no Passage but by Boats with Oars: But his Majesty was so far from approving this Project, that he forbid even the Use of Boats with Oars, and ordered, that no one should cross the River but in Boats with Sails. This was the Occasion of many Boats being lost: It answered the Czar's End, however, which was to oblige the indocile *Russians* to learn Navigation. His whole Thoughts, in short, being continually bent upon the Glory of his People, he employed a great Part of this Year in fortifying the Citadel of *Petersburgh*, in raising other publick Edifices, and in building Ships, about which he found Business for 40,000 Hands: But as these Works were not carried on with so much Expedition as he desired, he forced the Peasants of *Finland*, and the *Swedish* Prisoners, to assist in them. Six thousand of the latter were brought from *Samara*, a Town on the *Walga*, where they had buried a great Part of their Comrades, in the unwholesome Mines of Sulphur. The Czarina *Catharine* was so touched with Pity at the Sight of them, that she ordered Winter Garments and Money to be distributed among them. His Majesty gave Orders, that whoever built Houses at *Petersburgh* for the future, should make the Walls of Brick, and cover the Roofs with Tiles. He sent for that Purpose to his Agent in *France*, to procure the best Workmen; promising them, among other Advantages, to have their House-Rent free, and an Exemption from all Taxes for ten Years. He likewise engaged the Czarina, Dowager of the Czar *Iohn*, to leave *Moscow*, with the Princesses her Daughters, and reside at *Petersburgh*.

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Petersburgh, into which City he introduced near 12,000 Families.

On the 23d of July this Year, 1714, the Imperial Princess, Consort of the Czarowitz, was brought to Bed of a Daughter, who was baptized by the Name of *Natalia*. The Czarowitz was at that Time at *Carlsbad*, whither he went on a pretended Indisposition, that he might be out of the Way at the Delivery of the amiable, but too unfortunate Princess, whose Melancholy the Czar and Czarina did all that was possible to alleviate.

At the Time of solemnizing the Feast of St. *Andrew*, her Majesty appeared with the Collar of the new Order of St. *Catharine*, instituted by the Czar in Honour of her, who had taken the Name of that Saint, on the Declaration of his Marriage with her. She had full Power of bestowing it on such of her own Sex as she should think proper. The Ensigns of this Order are a broad white Ribbon, to which is fixed a Medal enriched with precious Stones, wore over the Right Shoulder, and adorned with the Image of St. *Catharine*, with this Motto: *Out of Love and Fidelity*: The Occasion of erecting it being to perpetuate the Memory of the Love and Fidelity of that Princess to his Majesty, in his distressed Condition on the Banks of the *Pruth*.

His Majesty having, with infinite Pains, been searching into the Causes of the Disorders that had crept into the Administration of his Affairs, and at length discovered from whence it proceeded, that his Army had been so ill paid, and suffered so much as it had; that many thousand Workmen had perished; his Trade decayed; and his Revenues fallen into Confusion; took a firm Resolution to remedy these Evils, and in the Beginning of the Year 1715, established a *Grand Inquisition*, under the Direction of General *Basil Dolgoruki*, to examine certain Lords and others, who it was said had defrauded his Majesty of some Millions. Most of the Great Men in *Russia* were affected by this Enquiry, and were obliged to give an Account of their Conduct. The Great Admiral *Apraxin*, Prince *Menzikoff*, M. *Korsakoff*, Vice-Governor of *Petersburgh*; M. *Kikin*, President; and M. *Sinavin*, first Commissioner of the Admiralty; Gene-

ral Bruce, Great Master of the Artillery; *Wolkonski* and *Apouchin*, Senators; with an incredible Number of other Officers of the second and third Rank, were called to Account. *Apraxin*, *Menzikoff*, and *Bruce* alledged for their Excuse, that they had been for the greatest Part of their Time in the Field, or in Foreign Parts; so that they had been so far from being able to find out the ill Practices of their Servants, that they were even unacquainted with what was done in their own Houses; which Excuse, partly on Account of its Probability, and partly in Favour of them, was allowed; with this Proviso however, that their Purses were to smart severely for their Defaults. The others, who could not justify their Conduct, underwent greater Punishments; *Korsakoff* publicly suffered the *Knout*, *Apouchin* and *Wolkonski* were punished after the same Manner, and had besides red hot Irons drawn over their Tongues. Some were sent into *Siberia*, and other remote Places, and had all their Estates confiscated. The Inquisition being ended, a proper Regulation was made to prevent the like Faults of Commissaries for the future, and to make the Burthen lie easier on the People.

On the 3d of January his Majesty sent a Lieutenant-Colonel to *Pillau*, near *Koningsberg*, to conduct over the Snow in Sleds, by the Help of Rollers, the great Globe of *Gottorp*, which was brought in that Manner to *Riga*, and from thence to *Petersburgh* by Sea. This Machine was made after a Design of *Tycho Brabe*, and was so large, that 12 Persons could sit round a Table within Side of it, to make celestial Observations, by turning it round. The Czar had seen this Curiosity at *Gottorp*, and was so wonderfully pleased with it, that he begg'd it of the King of *Denmark*, and put himself to a great Expence in bringing it to *Petersburgh*, whole Forests being cut through to make Way for it. Arts and Sciences were much encouraged by the Czar, and many Books already produced by the Press, which he had ordered to be set up at *Moscow*. Among others, he caused the Apophthegms of great Men to be collected in three Volumes, together with short select Sentences, which, by their concise and lively Turn, he thought would be

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more proper to form the Manners of his People, than formal Treatises of Morality.

Though the King of *Sweden* was returned, and the Czar had no longer any Troops in *Poland*; tho' the *Porte* had ratified the last Treaty, and the Boundaries of the two Empires were settled, yet the *Turks* and *Tartars* continued still in Arms; and his Majesty having been informed from good Hands, that the King of *Sweden*, before his Departure from *Bender*, had agreed on a new Project with the *Porte*, according to which those two Powers were to fall upon him at once, as soon as the *Swedish* Army was in a Condition to act, he took all necessary Precautions on this Account, particularly to have a considerable Body of Troops in the *Ukrain*, and on the Frontier Provinces of the vagabond *Tartars*. As to the King of *Sweden*, his Conduct towards the King of *Prussia* drew upon him new Enemies, which were so many new Allies to the Czar, who agreed with them to make a Diversion in *Sweden*, while they carried on the Siege of *Stralsund*.

On the first News of the *Tartars* being in Motion, the Czar sent fresh Troops into the *Ukrain*, to re-inforce those that were already about *Kiev*, *Czernikoff*, and *Poltawa*, which this Monarch had put in a Condition to cover all the Country. But the Alarm from this Side was groundless, the *Turks* having Designs elsewhere. About the same Time the *Donski Cossacks*, who in the last Rapture with the *Porte* had joined with the *Tartars*, sent an Embassy to *Petersburgh*, to intreat his Pardon, which was readily granted by the Clemency of that Monarch, who had had 4 unfortunate Princes, Refugee at his Court at one Time; *Cantemir*, the Hospodar of *Moldavia*; the two Sons of *Cantacuzan*, late Hospodar of *Wallachia*; and *Militoyli*, who was divested of his Dominions in *Georgia* by the King of *Persia*, and died at *Belgorod*.

While Preparations were making for a Descent into *Sweden*, the Czar amused his People with one of these Spectacles, which politick Princes make use of to take off the Attention of their Subjects from the Burthen of those Taxes which they are obliged to raise on them. He had, for very good Reasons, abolished the Patri-

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archal Dignity, or rather re-united it to the Crown ; and, to render the Character of the antient Patriarch ridiculous, he created one *Sotof*, his Jester, Mock-Patriarch. He had been his Majesty's Writing-Master in his younger Years, and at the Age of 70 was advanced to be his Jester ; then made Mock-Patriarch, and, for the Humour's Sake, was raised to the Dignity of a Prince, and at length declared Pope. Invested with these imaginary Characters, and being now in the 84th Year of his Age, the Czar married him to a buxom Widow of 34, and the Nuptials were solemnized by the Court in Masks. The Company consisted of about 400 Persons of both Sexes. Every 4 Persons had their proper Dress, and musical Instruments ; so that they represented 100 different Sorts of Habits and Musick, particularly the *Asiatick* Nations. The 4 Persons appointed to invite the Guests, were the greatest Stammerers that could be found in all *Russia*. Old decrepid Men, who were not able to stand, had been picked out to serve for Bridesmen, Stewards, and Waiters. There were 4 Running Footmen, the most unweildy Fellows, who had been troubled with the Gout most of their Life-time, and were so bulky, that they wanted others to lead them. The Mock-Czar of *Moscow*, who represented King *David* in his Dress, instead of a Harp had a Lyre, covered with a Bear-Skin, to play upon. He was carried on a Pageant placed on a Sled, to the 4 Corners of which were tied as many Bears, which being pricked with Goads, made such a frightful Roaring as well suited the horrible Din raised by the Instruments of the rest of the Company. The Czar was dressed like a Boor of *Friseland*, and skillfully beat a Drum, in Company with 3 Generals. In this Manner, Bells ringing every where, the Couple were attended to the Altar of the great Church, where they were joined in Matrimony by a Priest 100 Years old, who had lost his Eye-sight and Memory ; to supply which Defect, a Pair of Spectacles were put on his Nose, two Candles held before his Eyes, and the Words sounded into his Ears which he was to pronounce. From Church the Procession went to the Czar's Palace, where the Diversions lasted some Days.

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The Armies being come into the Field in *Pomerania*, and his *Prussian* Majesty having sent thither a large Body of Troops, he published a Manifesto concerning his taking in Sequestration *Swedish Pomerania*, and the March of his Army. His Majesty " protested before God and the whole World, that he had nothing else in View but to preserve himself, his own Dominions, and the whole *Roman* Empire, in which he had so great an Interest, against the turbulent, bloody, and cruel Designs of the King of *Sweden*, to ruin so many Millions of innocent People ; and that his Majesty would, in the Prosecution of that Affair, as he had before done, strictly keep to the Constitutions of the Empire, according to his Offices in the Circles, for the common Welfare, and the Accomplishment of the abovementioned Treaties : And when Affairs were brought to such a State, that the Empire might have no more Trouble to fear from the King of *Sweden*, his Majesty would lay down his Arms, and submit the Decision of the Affair, together with the Satisfaction due to him from the King of *Sweden*, and what should be further necessary for a Pacification in the North, to the Congress appointed by his Imperial Majesty at *Brunswick*, or to any other Treaties that might be set on Foot elsewhere for that End."

His Czarish Majesty received Advice of the Count *de Gruffy's* Arrival at *Berlin*, to offer the Mediation of the *French* King, for reconciling the Differences between the King of *Sweden* and *Prussia*. He took that Opportunity to declare, That he would not accept of the Mediation of any other for the Peace of the North, than the King of *Great Britain* and the States General ; the first of whom, seeing the Danger to which all the Princes of *Lower Saxony* were exposed, engaged, as Elector of *Hannover*, to take joint Measures with the Kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia*, for the Security of the Peace of the Empire, and to act against *Sweden*. This produced an Agreement between that Prince and the *Danes*, by Virtue of which the latter made over to his *Britannick* Majesty the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*.

The Northern Allies having sent their Forces into *Pomerania*, it was not doubted but the Czar, when he put to Sea, would join the *Danes*, to make a Descent on the

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the Island of *Rügen*: But continuing at *Revel* till the latter End of *June*, he steered towards *Gotland*, with a Design to shut up the Passages from *Stockholm* to *Pomerania*; in which he succeeded. Towards the Middle of *September*, the *Russian* Fleet sailed from the Island of *Gotland* to the Coasts of *Sundermania*, and landed 15,000 Foot Soldiers at *Jewel*, about 8 Leagues from the *Swedish* Army, whilst a Body of Horse, from the Army in *Finland*, went round the *Bothnick* Gulph, to penetrate into the Northern Provinces of *Sweden*. Besides all this, his Majesty ordered General *Czeremetoff* to go with 12 or 15,000 Men into *Pomerania*, to strengthen the Army of the Allies, and not only put an End to the Siege of *Stralsund*, but to take from the *Swedes* the Town of *Wismar*, which the *Danes* and the *Hanoverians* kept blocked up. *Stralsund* surrendered at the latter End of *December*, and the King of *Sweden* got off in a small Bark, with 10 Persons only, to *Isted* in *Scandinavia*, and from thence went to *Carelsroon*, where he continued all the Winter, in ordering new Levies.

Prince *Galliezin*, who commanded in *Finland*, obtained also many Advantages; for he surprized the Fortrefs of *Ula*, where he found 20 Pieces of Cannon, and a Quantity of Ammunition, and obliged the *Swedish* Troops to pass the Torrents of *Kimi* and *Torno*: So that there remained in all the Grand Dutchy of *Finland*, but 3 or 400 *Swedes*, shut up in the Fortref of *Cajanebourg*, situated on an inaccessible Rock.

The Czar, ever since his Return to *Petersburgh*, had given his utmost Attention to the Affairs of State, and the carrying on his Buildings in that City. He set up, at this Time, a new Academy, under the Direction of the *Sieur de St. Hilaire*, a *Frenchman*, where Riding was taught, foreign Languages, Mathematicks, and all Things proper for the Education of Gentlemen. On the 22d of *October* he had the Joy of seeing a Son born to the *Czarewitz*; but a great Damp was put to this Joy, by the Death of the Princess who brought him into the World. The *Czarewitz* himself shewed but little Concern on the Occasion, having on all Accounts expressed no Manner of Regard for this every-way deserving Princess, who had been unhappy from the Day of her Mar-

Marriage to the Hour of her Death. Her Husband treated her without common Decency; they lived in Apartments at different Ends of the same House, and hardly saw each other once a Week; so that if the *Czarewitz* had not looked upon the begetting an Heir, as the Support of his own Safety, they would perhaps have been altogether invisible to each other. He even neglected the Repair of the House to that Degree, that the Princess was exposed to the Injuries of the Weather in her very Bed-chamber; and if the Czar happened to expostulate with him on any Subject of that sort, he would load the Princess with Reproaches, as if it was she who accused him to his Father; whereas she bore her Fate with an uncommon Resignation and Constancy. The *Czarewitz* had taken a *Finlandish* Captive into this House openly, and was continually in her Company from Morning to Night. This Treatment of the Princess, together with the Neglect of her Midwives in her Lying-in, were the Occasions of her Death. When she discovered that her End was approaching, she desired to see the Czar; for the *Czarina* was so near her Time that she could not go abroad. The Czar, being indisposed at the same Time, was carried thither on a Machine rolling upon Wheels. She took leave of him in the most moving Expressions, and recommended her two Children, and her Servant, to his Protection. She embraced her Children in the tenderest Manner imaginable, and delivered them to the *Czarewitz*, who carried them to his Apartments; but never returned afterwards. Then she sent for her Servants, who, to the Number of 200 and upwards, lay prostrate on the Ground in the Antichamber, praying to Heaven to assist their dying Mistress in her last Moments. She comforted them, gave them several Admonitions, and at last her Blessing; and then desired to be left alone with the Minister. The Physicians were endeavouring to persuade her to take some Medicines; but she flung the Phials behind the Bed, saying with some Emotion; *Do not torment me any more, but let me die in quiet, for I will live no longer.* On the 1st of *November*, having continued in fervent Devotion till 11 at Night, she departed an unfortunate Life, in the 21st Year of her Age, having been married 4 Years and 6 Days.

Days. Her Corpse was, according to her Desire, interred, without being embalmed, in the great Church of the Fortress, whither it was carried on the 7th of November, with a Funeral Pomp becoming her Birth. Her Son, *Peter Alexowitz*, afterwards became Emperor of *Russia*, upon the Decease of the Empress *Catharine*. The next Day after the Interment of the Princess, the Czarina was brought to Bed of a Prince. The Rejoicings ordered to be made on that Account, lasted 8 Days successively. On the 17th, the new-born Prince was baptized by the Name of *Peter Petrowitz*, the Kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia* being Godfathers. The Solemnities on this Account were attended with an extraordinary Pomp. What was the most curious, was a Pye, served up at the Table of the Gentlemen, which being opened, a well-shaped Dwarf-Woman stepp'd out of it, stark naked, except her Head-Dress, and some Ornaments of red Ribbons. She made a Speech to the Company, filled some Glasses of Wine which she had in the Pye with her, and drank several Healths; after which, she was carried off the Table again. On the Ladies Table, a Man-Dwarf was served up in the same Manner. In the Dusk of the Evening the Company broke up, and went to the Island of *Jemessari*, where a noble Firework was play'd off in Honour to the young Prince. There were several curious Devices on it, and on the Top of all a Motto in *Russian* Characters: *Hope with Patience*.

On the 4th of December, the Czar received Advice of the Taking of the Island of *Rugen*, and on the 9th gave a splendid Entertainment on that Account. His Majesty was pleased to tell the Company, on producing some *African* Melons, that that Province might be accounted a Paradise, if it had a Communication by Water with *Indostan*, *Persia*, and especially with the *Black Sea*, by which it might impart its noble and cheap Produce to other Countries.

In the Beginning of the Year 1716, the Czar being apprehensive that the *Tartars*, at the Instigation of the *Turks*, might intermeddle with the Affairs of *Poland*, sent Orders to General *Wissbach*, who during the Summer had his Station near *Kiovo* at *Bagstaff*, and in the Autumn at *Starobud*, to march with six Regiments of Dragoons behind *Feronitz*, to keep a watchful Eye on the

the Motions of that People. The *Zaporovian*, and other *Cossacks* under the *Russian* Dominion, were likewise ordered to be in a Readiness to mount on the first Notice.

The Czarina Dowager, *Marvea Matweofna*, Relict of the late Czar *Theodore Alexowitz*, *Peter's* eldest Brother, died at *Petersburgh* on the 14th of January. She was Sister to the Grand Admiral *Apraxin*, and in the 51st Year of her Age; but had been supposed dead by many People long before, because she lived but 4 Weeks in Matrimony with her Consort, and upon his Death, in the Year 1682, had shut herself up in her own Apartments out of immoderate Grief, and was for 7 Years together not seen by any Body but her own Servants. Her Corpse was carried with great Pomp over the Ice, to be interred in the Evening, in the Church of the Fortress, the Length of an *English* Mile, through a double Row of Flambeaus. The Custom which of old had obtained on the like Occasions, of making Lamentations and loud Groans, the Czar would have entirely abolished, and Orders were given, before this Funeral, to abstain from any such Lamentations. The Generality of the common People still held the Opinion, that the Soul of the Deceased haunted the Place where it left the Body, for 6 Weeks after; during which Time, the nearest Relations used to perfume the Bed, and have daily Mass said near it. There yet remained another Czarina Dowager, the Relict of the Czar *John Alexowitz*, half Brother also of *Peter*, whose Name was *Prescovia*, Mother of the present Empress of *Russia*.

The Czar, at this Time, received News of an Irruption which the *Cubaniki Tartars*, commanded by the Son of the Cham, had made into the Kingdom of *Casan*, which was become almost an annual Custom with them. They were 6000 strong, and in their March had made 7 or 8000 Captives: Colonel *Schwartz*, a *German*, who had been 18 Years in the Czar's Service, overtook them in their Retreat, at the Head of his Regiment, composed of 1200 of his Countrymen. These *Marodens*, finding themselves obliged to fight, or abandon their Slaves and Booty, had the Cruelty to place 500 *Russian*

Swiss Women in their Front. However, Colonel *Schwartz* would not fire upon them, but attacked the *Tartars* in Flank with Sword in Hand, put them to flight, took many of them, and among them the commanding *Cham's* Son, whom he forthwith caused to be hanged on a Tree. He rescued the *Russian* Prisoners, and got 1500 of the Enemy's Horses, which, with other Booty, he distributed among his Men. He then came to *Petersburgh*, to make Report of his Expedition, and afterwards returned with new Instructions.

The Affairs of *Poland* were now fallen into great Confusion, where a new Confederation was set on foot, and headed by *Gurziniski*, Lieutenant of the Palatine of *Sandomir*. The Confederates were resolved to hearken to no Accommodation, till the *Saxon* Troops were dismissed. Several great Men interposed, to persuade them to lay down their Arms, and assured them, that the King would send away those Forces; but they answered, That as the like Promises had never yet been performed, they would not be deceived any more. The two Parties fell upon one another, and many brave Men lost their Lives in the several Skirmishes they had together. The *Saxons* were in great Danger of being cut to Pieces, which made King *Augustus* apply to his old Ally for Succour: But the Czar, not thinking it proper at that Time to carry his Arms into *Poland*, endeavoured to reconcile the Confederates and their Sovereign by Mediation. *M. Dazow* and Prince *Dolgoruki* were charged with the Negotiation, which lasted a long Time, because the Confederates would not lay down their Arms till the *Saxons* were sent out of the Kingdom.

CHAP. V.

The Czar sets out for Germany. Marries his Niece to the Duke of Mecklenbourg. Has an Interview with the King of Prussia. Surrender of Wismar. The Czar's Interview with the King of Denmark. He commands the Fleets of four Nations. Lays aside his Design against Schonen. Project of Baron Gortz. The Czar arrives in Holland. Affairs of Poland. Intrigues of Baron Gortz and Count Gyllembourg. The Czar arrives at Paris. Goes to the Spaw. Returns to Holland, and so by Dantzick to Petersburgh.

MANY important Affairs requiring the Czar's Presence in *Lower Saxony*, on the 6th of February 1716, both he and his Consort set out for *Germany*. The Czarina chose to be near her Husband, especially at this Time, when he was not perfectly recovered from an Indisposition that had obliged him to keep his Chamber. Their Majesties took the Route of *Riga*, where they arrived on the 12th. From *Riga* they went on the 23d to *Libau*, on the 25th to *Memel*, and on the 29th to *Dantzick*. Their Majesties continued in this City till the latter End of *April*: But the Czar, having concluded the Marriage of his Niece, the Princess *Catharine*, eldest Daughter of the Czar *John* and the Czarina *Proskovia*, with Duke *Charles Leopold* of *Mecklenbourg Swerin*, resolved to procure the Possession of *Wismar* for that Prince; for which Reason he sent about 12,000 *Russians* towards *Mecklenbourg*, to assist in taking that Place from the *Swedes*. He received, at the same Time, the agreeable News of the Surrender of *Cajanebourg*, the last Place that the *Swedes* held in *Finland*. The *Swedish* Commandant stipulated, that he should go out with his Garrison, which consisted of 260 Men; and that he should be escorted 12 Miles from thence: But hearing afterwards, that there was a Body of *Russians* at above 24 Miles Distance, on the Side of *Sweden*, into whose Hands he could not avoid falling, he chose rather to yield himself Prisoner to his Conqueror. In this Fortress

were found 25 Pieces of Cannon, with Ammunition and Provisions for 18 Months.

On the 19th of *April*, the Marriage of the Princess with the Duke of *Mecklenbourg* was celebrated at *Dantzick*, in the Presence of their Czarish Majesties. The King of *Poland*, who was come to confer with the Czar upon the Commotions in his Kingdom, went to the Chapel on this Occasion, attended by a large Train of Coaches. The Czar afterwards proceeded on Horseback; the Czarina and the Princess came behind him, with a great Number of Ladies in Coaches. The Bride had an Imperial Crown on her Head. Over her Vest, which was of Silver Brocade, she had a long Robe of Crimson Velvet, with a double Border of Ermine, the Train of which was supported by two Gentlemen. All this Company were entertained by Count *Golofkin*, the Grand Chancellor. The Feast was in common for the whole City; the Fountains run with Wine, and a roasted Ox was given to the Populace. On the 29th, the King of *Poland* gave an Entertainment and a Ball on Account of the Marriage; and the Czar, having assisted at it, the next Day, hearing that 45 of his Gallies were arrived at *Koningsberg*, set out with all Expedition to review them. In *Koningsberg*, the Capital of *Prussia*, his Majesty found the famous *Persian* Ambassador, who had been in *France* for some Time before the Death of *Lewis XIV.* and gave Audience to him the 4th of *May*. On the 5th he embarked on board the Imperial Galley, and returned to *Dantzick* on the 9th, with about 30 Gallies.

During the Absence of his Czarish Majesty, the following Articles were delivered to the Magistrates of the City. I. That all Correspondence between the City and *Sweden* should be forbidden, and that a *Muscovite* Commissary should be allowed to visit all the Ships. II. That the City should furnish four Privateers of 12 Guns, and 50 Men each, to be maintained by them during the War. III. That a *Muscovite* Officer should be allowed on board each of those Capers. IV. That if the City would not fit out those Privateers, they should pay 200,000 Rixdollars in Specie. V. That in Case his Czarish Majesty did not think fit to make any Transportation from *Dant-*

Dantzick to *Copenhagen*, the City should be obliged to furnish two or three Ships. The Czar insisted on the Acceptation of these Articles; and if the Magistrates refused, his Ministers signified, that he would use the Citizens as Enemies; but the King of *Poland* having amicably adjusted the Difference, his Majesty caused his little Army, encamped near the Place, to break up, and sent back his Gallies. The *Dantzickers* were to pay 100,000 Rixdollars; to renounce all Commerce with *Sweden* during the War, and to maintain 4 Ships to be furnished by his *Polish* Majesty. The Czar, on his Return to *Dantzick*, was saluted by 150 Pieces of Cannon, to let him see that they were in no Want of Artillery. He set out the next Day for *Stolpe*, in his Way to *Stetin*, whither the King of *Prussia* came *incognito*, to confer with him upon the Situation of the Affairs of the North. These Princes agreed in opposing the Progress of the King of *Sweden* into the Dominions of the *Danes*; but thought it not for the common Interest to assist *Denmark* in making Conquests on the *Swedes*, who were already weakened enough by the Loss of *Finland*, *Livonia*, and *Pomerania*. These Principles were the Foundation of all that was afterwards done in Concert between his Czarish Majesty and the King of *Denmark*.

The Czar went to visit *Stralsund*, and from thence passed into *Mecklenbourg*, where the Allies were pushing on the Siege of *Wismar*. His Majesty, with the Duke of *Mecklenbourg*, had formed a Project, which was to put the Duke in Possession of that Fortref, that the *Russians* might always have a Retreat for their Ships on that Side the *Baltick Sea*. For this Purpose the Czar ordered a Body of Troops to advance that Way, which at first consisted only of 12,000 Men, but was soon augmented to 26,000. But this Army came too late; the Town having surrendred on the 14th of *April*, with Fort *Valvis*. The chief Articles of the Capitulation of *Wismar* named *Valvis*, shall be surrendered to the Besiegers, were as follow: The Town of *Wismar*, with the Fort who shall grant to the Garrison all usual Honours. The Garrison shall march out of the Town twenty-four Hours after the Ratification of the King of *Denmark* is come; and as soon as they are passed the

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Liege Port, they shall surrender themselves Prisoners of War; except 1000 Men of the *Swedish* Nation, with their Officers, who shall keep their Arms and Baggage, to be transported to *Sweden*, with good Passports. The Sick shall be taken Care of in the Town. The Officers may leave their Baggage in the Town, for 3 Months after the Capitulation. The *Swedes* in want of Ready Money, shall give good Security. All that hath been taken, during the Time of the Siege, shall not be reclaimed. The Civil Officers may remain in the Town, without being disturbed; but those who chuse to retire, may do it in 3 Months Time. All the Officers, Civil and Military, and the other Inhabitants of the Town, shall be permitted to enjoy their Goods, Lands, and Estates in *Bremen*, *Pomerania*, and *Rugen*, as long as they live peaceably. All the Acts and Papers shall be faithfully delivered; and they shall remain in the Archives. The Mortgages of Lands shall be referred to Examination. Those who are comprised in the Capitulation of *Tonningen*, and in the Council of War held at *Rensburgh*, shall not be prosecuted for the Cause of Desertion. None of those who by this Capitulation are to have their Liberty, shall be forced to take Service. No Resentment shall be shewn against the Burghers, who performed Military Service. The Ships and Subjects of the Northern Allies, who have served in the Town, shall be treated as other Prisoners of War. The Besieged shall give a faithful List of all the Cannon, Mortars, Military Ammunition, and other Effects, especially of the Mines. It shall be permitted to the *Swedes* to bring Forage at their own Expence. The Allies shall permit them to freight Ships under good Passports. The Garrison shall be allowed to send immediately to his *Swedish* Majesty, to make Report of what has passed. The Hostages shall be set at Liberty as soon as the Capitulation is signed, and the Volunteers are declared free. These Articles were punctually executed; and the Allies took Possession of *Wismar*. The *Muscovites*, who arrived some Days before the Place was surrendered, pretended to have some of their Troops put in Garrison there: But this was refused by General *De Witt*, as an unreasonable Pretension; and the *Russian* General having sent to the Czar upon that Subject, his Majesty declared that he had given no Orders for such a Demand.

Demand. However, he was so much chagrined on the Disappointment of his Design upon this Place, that from hence may be dated the Epoch of several memorable Events, especially the Misunderstanding between him and the Court of *Hanover*.

While the Czar was consulting with the Duke of *Mecklenbourg*, how they should make up the Loss of *Wismar*, the King of *Denmark* arrived at *Altena*. He set out from *Altena* on the 28th of May, and proceeded through the City of *Hamburg* in great State to a Garden prepared for him, where, understanding that the Czar was arrived at *Ham*, he paid him a Visit, and had a Conference with him alone, which lasted about two Hours. The next Morning the Czar made a Visit to his *Danish* Majesty, and had a another Conference with him. These two Monarchs continued together till the 4th of June, and agreed to make a Descent in *Schonen*, that they might oblige the King of *Sweden* to quit *Norway*, into which Country he was penetrated with an Army of 20,000 Men. The Czar, who made a Shew of being one of the first in this Expedition, was to join his Fleet with that of *Denmark*; and the Rendezvous for the Troops and Vessels was to be about *Copenhagen*. He left *Hamburg*, and crossing the *Elbe*, lay at *Harburg*, and set out on the 5th for *Pyrmont*. On the 30th he returned to *Schwerin* in *Mecklenbourg*, and on the 4th of July their Czarish Majesties came to *Roslock*, where the 45 Gallies were arrived, after having landed a Body of Troops in the Island of *Rugen*. The Czar commanded the Gallies, and the Velt-Mareschal *Czeremetoff* had the Command of 8000 Men. Two other Bodies of Troops entered on the other Side into *Mecklenbourg*, under Prince *Repin* and General *Baur*. During their March, the King of *Denmark* spared no Pains to get together all the Transport Vessels he could. In the mean Time, the *Russian* Troops were in Motion on all Sides to advance toward *Jutland*. About the Middle of July, the Czar came with the Czarina to *Lubeck*. He commanded the Gallies himself, with which he arrived on the 17th in the Road of *Copenhagen*. The King of *Denmark* having Advice that the Czar approached the Port, embarked on a Shallop with his Chief Ministers, and came before that Monarch at Fort *Provestein*. On the 23d the Czarina

rina arrived also at the Capital of *Denmark*, where the Court and the City used their utmost Endeavours to shew them all Manner of Diversions, while they waited for the Execution of the Grand Project.

His Czarish Majesty, during his three Months Stay in *Denmark*, visited the Colleges, and Academies, and conversed with the Learned. He went out almost every Day in a Boat, coasting the two Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, measuring the Bays, and sounding the Depths; and laid down the whole so exactly on Charts, that the least Bank of Sand did not escape him. At this Time, the *British* and *Dutch* Squadrons arriving in the Road of *Copenhagen*, the Czar proposed to Admiral *Norris*, and Rear-Admiral *Grave*, to join the *Russian* and *Danish* Fleets with theirs. Several Councils being held upon this, it was resolved to give the chief Command of the Fleets to the Czar himself; so that the *British* Admiral should command the Vanguard, the Czar the Body of Battle, the *Danish* Admiral the Rear, and the *Dutch* Commodore, with his Squadron, and five *British* Men of War, should secure the Trade of both Nations in the *Baltick*. According to this Resolution, the Czar hoisted, on the 16th of *August*, his Imperial Flag, to signify that he had taken upon him the Command of the combined Fleet, and being immediately saluted by the other Admirals, gave a Signal to sail. The Fleet was obliged to come to an Anchor in the *Kiøgerbocht* the 18th, from whence they sailed towards *Bornholm*, where being informed that the *Swedish* Fleet was returned to *Carelskroon*, to take in Provisions, the *British* and *Dutch* Merchant Ships, with their Convoy, proceeded on their respective Voyages for *Dantzick*, *Riga*, and other Ports. The Czar went to *Stralsund*, to cause his Forces quartered there to embark, and then returned to *Copenhagen*.

His Czarish Majesty declared, that he had never more Satisfaction in all his Life, than when he was at the Head of these four united Fleets, which made so great a Figure at Sea: But the Appearance of the *British* and *Dutch* Fleets could not be very agreeable to him, which prevented the Designs he had formed, it was thought, against *Denmark* itself, after his Disappointment at *Wismar*. On his Return, his Czarish Majesty and the King of

of *Denmark* held a Council of War, wherein the Dispositions for the Descent in *Schonen* were concerted, and the Troops ordered to be in Readiness to embark: But these Orders were unexpectedly countermanded, and the Project, which had been so much talked of, was laid aside, after the vast Expence which the *Danes* and *Muscovites* had been at for the Transportation of the Forces, and other Preparations. His Czarish Majesty was pleased to declare that he thought the Season too far spent, and that it would be better to defer it till the Spring. The Reason of this sudden Alteration will be seen hereafter. The King of *Denmark*, having in vain endeavoured to persuade him to execute what was so far advanced, thought proper to vindicate his own Conduct, by publishing a Manifesto, in which he charged the Czar with being the Cause of disappointing the projected Descent upon *Schonen*. His Czarish Majesty, however, knowing his own secret Motives, did not think fit to publish any Answer to it; but having caused all his Forces to re-embark, they sailed on the 23d of *October* for *Mecklenbourg*, and being arrived there, Orders were given for their March through *Pomerania* into *Poland*. On the 26th the Czar was nobly entertained at *Copenhagen*, and having taken Leave of the Court, set out with the Czarina the next Day for *Hamburg*. He passed the *Belt* on the 28th, and viewing *Tonningen* and *Fredericksstadt*, proceeded to *Lubeck*.

While the *Danes* and *Muscovites* were making the necessary Preparations for putting their Project in Execution, the King of *Sweden* retired with his Forces out of *Norway*, in order to oppose his Enemies in *Schonen*. He quitted *Savinjund* on the 28th of *August*, and after having caused the Bridge to be broken down, and a small Fort to be thrown up at that Place, he left the Count de la Gardi, with four Battallions of Infantry, and about 1000 Horse and Dragoons, to command at that Pass. On the 12th of *September* he went to visit the Princess's Sister at *Wadstena*, and from thence the next Day arrived at *Lund* in *Schonen*, where he fixed his Head Quarters: But he put himself in Motion again to return to *Norway*, upon the Design of making the Descent being laid aside, which was brought about by Baron *Gortz*, who had pro-

projected a strange Revolution in the Affairs of *Europe*, by making Peace between his Master and *Peter Alexowitz*. The Plan was too flattering to those great Princes, to be resisted by either of them; and *England*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, and *Prussia* were to feel the Effects of it. *Gortz* persuaded the King of *Sweden*, that he would have ample Amends made him for relinquishing the Places the Czar was Master of, and himself in no Condition to retrieve; by having the Honour of re-placing *Stanislaus* on the Throne of *Poland*, by setting the Crown of *England* on the Head of the pretended Son of *James II.* and by restoring the Duke of *Holstein* to that Dutchy. Besides, that being united to the Czar, there was nothing they might not undertake. The Czar, on his Part, had for some Time been secretly discontented with the Allies, who were all for preventing his having any Footing in *Germany*, and would not suffer any of the Forces to be at the Siege of *Wismar*; and this Discontent of the Czar was, perhaps, what prevented the utter Ruin of the King of *Sweden*. The first Step taken in *Gortz's* Scheme, was by *Dr. Areskine*, the Czar's Physician. He sounded Prince *Menzikoff*, who was charmed with the Design, and soon brought the Czar into it. But how desirous he was to clear himself of any such Imputation, we shall immediately see.

From *Lubeck* the Czar went to *Havelberg*, where he had a private Interview with the King of *Prussia*. These two Monarchs conferred together for two Days on the Affairs of *Poland*, and particularly concerning the City of *Elbing*, which the late King of *Prussia* had resigned for a considerable Sum, of which neither Principal nor Interest had been paid. The Czar afterwards returned to *Hamburg* and *Altena*, where he staid a Day longer than he at first intended. A Person of Distinction among the *Cossacks*, Nephew to the famous *Mazepa*, called Count *Wrynorowski*, being a little before arrived at *Hamburg*, was seized at the Request of the *Muscovite* Minister, as a Subject of the Czar: But as he was engaged in the Service of the *Swedes*, they declared for him, and threatened the *Hamburgers* with the highest Resentment, if they deliver'd him up to the Czar. This Affair took a happy Turn for the *Hamburgers*; for the Count

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desired of the Magistrates, that he might be conducted to the Czar at *Altena*, and wrote a very submissive Letter to his Majesty, to pray him to grant him Audience. He was accordingly conducted to *Altena*, where he was guarded by the *Danes* in his Lodgings. The next Day the Czar went to see him, before whom he fell on his Knees, and asked his Pardon, Life, and Liberty. His Majesty raised him, and said, *Fear Nothing, I have more Goodness towards you than you imagine; tell only all that you know.* His Majesty then caused his Sword to be returned to him, and he was sent to *Schwerin*. This Count was brought very young into the *Swedish* Party by his Uncle, General *Mazepa*; but came to *Hamburg* as soon as he could, to ask Pardon, the Czarina having promised to intercede for him. His Czarish Majesty had a Sword set with Diamonds presented him by the Magistrates of *Hamburg*, whom he assured of his Friendship, and then set out for *Amsterdam*, where he arrived on the 17th of *December* in the Evening.

Prince *Dolgoruki*, who was the Mediator in the Czar's Name, between the *Poles* and the *Saxons*, at length engaged both Parties to consent to a Treaty, and a Congress was accordingly appointed at *Lublin*; but all that could be done there, was to bring them to an Armistice, which was soon violated, and the Congress transferred to *Warsaw*; and the Obstinacy of the Confederates giving Room to fear there would be no more done here than at *Lublin*, the Czar ordered General *Rome* to enter *Poland* with a Body of Troops, to support that Party which was most pacific. Upon the Arrival of these Troops, the Deputies of the Confederates declared, that they could not dissolve the Confederacy, nor proceed farther in the Treaty, till Prince *Dolgoruki* had sent Orders for them to withdraw: But the Mediator answered, That the *Muscovites* had marched into *Poland* in Pursuance of the Agreement made at *Dantzick*; That his Czarish Majesty should set against such a disturbed the publick Tranquility: That seeing they had chosen the Czar for Mediator, it did not belong to them to prescribe Laws to him; but that they ought to conform themselves to the Measures his Majesty thought most convenient for the Establishment of Peace, which he advised them to conclude;

clude; promising, that immediately after the Conclusion of it, he would cause the said Troops to retire. The Confederates reply'd, That a Mediator ought not to make Use of Arms, but hear what the Parties at Variance had to say, and endeavour to reconcile them without Menaces. But they were given to understand, that though what they alledged might be true between private Men, Princes in Arms followed other Maxims. In the Conclusion, Prince *Dolgoruki* declared in plain Terms, That the Troops of his Master should not withdraw out of the *Polish* Territories, before the Treaty was actually signed. Upon which the Deputies declared they would proceed no farther in the Treaty, and so the Conferences broke up. After which the Deputies apply'd to the Pope's Nuncio, and the Imperial Ambassador, to desire the King to insist on the Retreat of the *Muscovites*. The King's Plenipotentiaries did accordingly, and sent to acquaint the Deputies, that they approved their Instances in that Particular; but that the surest Way to obtain it, was forthwith to conclude a Peace. In fine, the Deputies, after many Debates, contented themselves with a Declaration signed by the Mediator, That the King's Plenipotentiaries engaged, that his Majesty should use his Endeavours with the Czar for the Retreat of his Forces, immediately after the Conclusion of the Peace. Then the Mediator read the Project for the Suspension of Arms; but that not being agreed to, the King once more declar'd, that he would forthwith set out for the Army. This alarmed the Confederates, who desired that the Conferences might begin early the next Morning; which being agreed to, the Article for a longer Suspension of Arms was signed by the Bishop of *Cujavia*, on the Part of the King, and by the Deputies of the Confederacy. Count *Fleming* refus'd to sign it at that Time, because no Provision was made in it for the Subsistence of the *Saxon* Troops: But in another Conference, some Alterations having been made in this Article, Count *Fleming* signed it, and the next Day sent Orders to the *Saxon* Troops to publish the Prolongation of the Suspension of Arms, and observe it themselves, upon Pain of incurring his Majesty's Displeasure. Other Articles agreed on in the Conferences were, That the King

King might be out of the Kingdom 3 Months in the Year: That the *Saxon* Ministers should not concern themselves with the Affairs of *Poland*: That the King might keep a *Saxon* Guard, not to exceed 1200 Men, and to be maintained at the King's own Charge: That the Commanders of them should take an Oath of Fidelity to the King and the Republick: That no foreign Troops should be brought into the Kingdom, nor should these 1200 be augmented by new Levies: With some others of less Moment. There were, at this Time, in *Poland* 30,000 *Russians*, under General *Ronne*; and General *Baur* had brought 5 or 6000 more out of *Lower Saxony*, for whom he exacted Quarters in *Polish Prussia* and *Great Poland*. And his Czarish Majesty did not think proper to recal them immediately, lest the Confederates should take up Arms again.

The *Russian* Monarch, who had set Prince *Menzikoff* at the Head of the Regency in his Absence, was expecting his Consort at *Amsterdam*, when a Courier brought him the News, that on the 13th of *January*, 1717, at the Instant she was preparing to set out from *Wesel*, she was delivered of a Prince, which died the same Day it was born. His Majesty passed his Time at *Amsterdam*, and the Places about it, in making judicious Remarks relating to Commerce and Navigation: He visited the Ship-Carpenters Yards, the Storehouses of the *East-India* Company, and those of the Admiralty and principal Merchants; and saw again the little Cottage where he had lodged at *Sardam*, in his first Journey to *Holland*. The Czarina arrived at *Amsterdam* on the 10th of *February*, and was received in the same Manner as the Czar had been. On the 9th of *March* following, their Majesties went to the *Hague*, and being at the House of Prince *Kurakin*, were complimented by the Deputies of the States of *Holland*, and by a Deputation extraordinary from the States General.

They continued at the *Hague* till the 4th of *April*, during which Time a Discovery was made in *England* of some Intrigues of Baron *Gortz* and Count *Gyllembourg*, which tended to introduce the Pretender in *Great Britain*. Count *Gyllembourg*, who was clothed with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary, was put under an Arrest

Arrest in *London*; and all his Papers seized. The States General arrested Baron *Goritz*, and young *Gyllembourg*, in *Holland*, at the Request of the King of *Great Britain*. All the Letters found among their Papers were immediately published, by which it appeared, that a Design had been carried on to raise a Rebellion, which was to be put in Execution in the Month of *March*; and that the King of *Sweden* was to make a Descent in *England* with 10,000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, & sufficient Train of Artillery, and Arms for 10 or 12,000 Men more.

Some of the Letters of these Ministers, especially of young *Gyllembourg*, wrote from the *Hague* on the 17th of *November* 1716, intimated, not that the Czar had any Share as yet in the Plot, but that they were in hopes of bringing him into it. This gave occasion to accuse his Czarish Majesty of having been consulted in this Project: There were likewise some Passages relating to Doctor *Areskine*, the Czar's Physician beforementioned. His Majesty therefore, on the 12th of *March*, caused M. *Wesselowski*, Secretary of the Embassy, to present a Memorial to Mr. *Stanhope*, to be laid before the King of *Great Britain*. In which his Czarish Majesty "protested his Innocence of the whole Conspiracy, and shewed the Unreasonableness of supposing he should concert Measures with the King of *Sweden* his implacable Enemy; urged several Instances of his Friendship to the King of *Great Britain*, both as such, and as Elector of *Hanover*, and offered to enter into fresh Alliances with his Majesty, and to grant his Subjects all reasonable Advantages in Trade; requiring, at the Conclusion, an Explication of these Matters, and of his *Britannic* Majesty's Resolution to the Contents of this Memorial." Upon Examination of this Piece by the Ministers, it was found that some Articles of it related to his Majesty as King of *Great Britain*, and others as Elector of *Hanover*; for which Reason two several Answers were ordered to be returned to it, one by Secretary *Stanhope*, and the other by the Chancery of the Electorate. His *Britannic* Majesty acknowledges the Friendship of the Czar, declares he has no Suspicion of his conspiring against him, and gives his Reasons for the several Particulars of his own and his Ministry's Conduct, of which his *Russian* Ma-

Majesty had complained, especially for the repeated Instances they had made, to prevail on him to withdraw his *Muscovites* out of the Empire.

The Czar left the *Hague* on the 4th of *April*, to go to *Paris*. His Court was small, but chosen; and the Czarina accompanied him as far as *Rotterdam*, from whence she came back to the *Hague*, and then to *Amsterdam*, where she waited his Return. His Majesty passed thro' *Zeeland* in his Way to *Antwerp*, where the Princes of *Holsheim-Ploen* and *de la Tour*, appointed to attend him while he was in *Flanders*, came to receive him in the Emperor's Name. On the 14th he arrived at *Brussels*, and passed from thence, by the Way of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, to *Dunkirk*, to view the *Ris-Bank* there, having a Design to make one on the same Model at *Cronstot* or *Petersburgh*. On the 7th of *May*, his Majesty arrived at *Paris*, where very great Preparations were made to receive him. Being conducted to the old *Louvre*, he found there a magnificent Ambigu prepared for his Entertainment, composed of 800 Dishes of Flesh, Fish, Fowl, and Fruits. He was lodged in the *Hotel de Lesdigueres*, where he the next Morning received a Visit from the Duke of *Orleans*, then Regent, with whom he discoursed for above an Hour. When that Prince had left him, his Majesty spoke of him in such Terms as not only did Honour to the Regent, but to himself, in being capable of forming so solid a Judgment of that great Politician. The Regent was no less charmed with the Understanding and Behaviour of the Emperor of *Russia*: So that the Interview of these two great Princes, was not unlike that of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. On the 10th, the King of *France*, accompanied by the principal Officers of his Household, and followed by a Detachment of the Life Guards, came to visit his Czarish Majesty, who went down to receive the young Monarch at his Coach, and conducted him to his Apartment, where they staid together some Time. The Day following the Czar, accompanied by the Lords of his Train, returned the Visit to the King, who came to receive him in the same Manner. The same Day the Provost of Merchants, and the Aldermen, in their Habits, went to wait upon his Czarish Majesty, and brought him the usual Presents of the City,

ty. The same Day the Czar went to the *Place Royal*, that of *Victoires*, that of *Louis le Grand*, and to see the Arsenal; and on the 12th he went to the *Gobelins*, and to the King's Garden, and in the Afternoon to the *Observatory*. On the 14th in the Afternoon, he came to the Palace Royal, to make a Visit to Monsieur the Duke of Orleans, who conducted him into his Apartment, and shewed him his Gallery of Paintings. The Czar went afterwards to visit *Madame*, who received him at the Door of her Apartment, and presented to him the Duke of *Chartres*, and *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*. After the Visit, the Duke of Orleans led him into the Lodge of the Palace-Royal, where he saw an Opera. The same Day, in the Morning, the Czar went to the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and saw in the great Gallery of the *Louvre*, the Plans in Relief of the fortified Towns of the Kingdom; and afterwards walk'd in the Garden of the *Tuilleries*. The 16th he was at the *Hôtel Royal des Invalids*. The 17th he passed the Day at the Castle of *Meudon*, where he was regaled by the Duke Regent; and in his Return to *Paris*, by the *Elysian Fields*, he found the Guards under Arms performing their Exercise.

His Majesty, a few Days after, went to *Fontainebleau*, and in the Way dined at the Duke d'*Antin's*, at *Petitbourg*. The next Morning he hunted a Stag with the King's Dogs, accompanied by the Count de *Toulouse*. He returned at Night to *Petitbourg*, where the Duke d'*Antin* entertained him as before. On the 1st of *June*, he went into the *Gondola* that carried him back to *Paris*, his Court following him in other Boats. In the Way, he stopp'd at *Choisy*, where the Princess Dowager of *Conti* received him, and shewed him her Gardens and Apartments. Continuing then his Voyage, and having gone through all the Bridges in *Paris*, he landed at the *Porte de la Conférence*, and going into his Coach, went along the Ramparts of the City. On the 2d of *June*, in the Afternoon, his Majesty went to the Royal Abbey of *St. Denis*, where he saw the Church, the Treasury, and the new Building, in which the *Benedictins* prepared a fine Collation. From *St. Denis* he returned by *St. Owen*, where the Duke de *Tresmes*, with all his Family, attend-

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ed him. On the 3d the Russian Monarch went from *Paris* to *Versailles*, with all his Court, accompanied by the Marquis de *Bellegarde*, Son of the Duke d'*Antin*, who was appointed to do the Honours of the Royal Houses, in the Room of his Father. His Majesty made no Stay at *Versailles*, but went to *Trianon*, where he continued till the 6th, and then went to see the Castle of *Clagny*, and the great Aqueducts, and from thence to *Marly*. On the 10th, Monsieur de *Verton*, the King's *Maitre d'Hotel*, entertained him with a very grand Fire-Work, preceded by a fine Concert of Musick, and Illuminations, the Night concluding with a Ball. On the 11th, he went to *St. Germain en Laye*, and viewed the old and new Castle there; and afterwards to *St. Cyr*, where he saw *Madame de Maintenon*, who received him on her Bed. He saw the five Classes, and all the young *Demoiselles*, and was much pleased with the Establishment of this House, and the Manner in which the Virgins were educated. On the 12th, he returned to *Versailles*, viewed the Apartments and Cabinet of Medals, and the great and little Stables. After which he went to *Chailly*, and having made a Visit to the Queen Dowager of *England*, came back in the Evening, and went to the House of M. de *Lauvai*, in the Mint, where the Duke d'*Antin* attended him. That Lord caused a Gold Medal to be struck before him, which he presented to him, and his Majesty was surprized to find his own Bust on one Side, with this Inscription, PETRUS ALEXIEWITZ TZAR, MAG. RUSS. IMPERATOR. On the Reverse was Fame in the Air, holding two Trumpets, with this Inscription, *Vires acquirit eundo*; and on the Exergue, *Lutet. Paris. 1717*. A Number of Medals, with the same Impression on Silver, were presented to the Persons who accompanied him.

On the 13th he received a Visit from the Pope's Nuncio, who making him a Compliment in *Italian*, was answered by the Vice-Chancellor *Schegiroff*. In the Evening his Majesty went to the Duke d'*Antin's*, where he supp'd with the Count de *Toulouse*. On the 14th in the Morning, he went to see the Royal Printing-House; and being very curious in enquiring into the Art, seve-

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ral Proofs were pull'd, to shew him the Method of Printing. He went afterwards to visit the College of the four Nations, founded by Cardinal *Mazarin*: He viewed the Church and the Library, and, discoursing with *M. Varignon*, the famous Geometrician, he informed himself of all that was necessary for a Foundation of the like Sort: For, besides two Colleges he had already founded, one at *Moscow*, and one at *Petersburgh*, he intended to erect others. He went next to the House of the *Sieur Pigeon*, the Maker of a very curious moving Sphere, according to the *Copernican* System; which pleased him so well, that he ordered it to be purchased for 2000 Crowns. His Majesty went next to the *Sorbonne*, where he was received by the Doctors of the House, for whom he expressed a great Esteem. Here he much admired the Tomb of Cardinal *Richelieu*, which is looked upon as a wonderful Piece of Workmanship. His Majesty went in the Afternoon up to the Towers of *Notre Dame*, from whence he had a Prospect of the whole City: And on his Return to the *Hotel de Lesdigueres*, he found the Ambassadors of *Portugal* and *Malta*, who were come with large Retinues to wait upon him.

On the 15th, his Majesty went to see the fine Works at the *Gobelins*. Among many Pieces of Tapestry, he seemed most delighted with the History of *Don Quixot*, done after the Design of young *Coyvel*, of which his most Christian Majesty made him a Present. In the Evening he took a Walk in the *Cours*. On the 16th, accompanied by the Duke of *Orleans*, he saw a Review of the *Gens d'Armes*, *Chevaux Legers*, the *Mousquetaires*, and the Life-Guards, which were drawn up on several Lines in the *Elysian Fields*: He was on Horseback, and went all along the Ranks; and after having seen the Foot Guards perform their Exercise, went to *St. Owen*, and supped with the Duke de *Treves*. On the 17th, having spent two Hours at the *Observatory*, he supped with the *Maréchal Villars*. The next Day having sent for *M. Delisle*, the Geographer, he discoursed a long Time with him, by an Interpreter, on the Situation and Extent of his Empire, which were better known to himself than to any Body else. To give an Idea of them, he ordered two Manuscript Charts to be brought, which he

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had caused to be made of Part of his Dominions, and shewed *M. Delisle* the Situation of a new Fortress he had built in *Tartary*, in the Acquisitions he had made by the Submission of one of the *Tartarian* Kings, and by the Junction of 100,000 *Calmucks* with the other *Tartars* under his Dominions. His Majesty went afterwards to see several Chymical Experiments, that were prepared for him at the *Sieur Geoffroi's*. In the Afternoon, he received a Visit from the Duke of *Orleans*, and then went to the *Louvre*, where he saw the King of *France* incognito in his Cabinet. From thence he went to the Palace Royal, to visit the Duke and Dutchess of *Orleans*. His Czarish Majesty, the same Day, saw an Operation performed on a blind Man, whom *Mr. Wallace*, an *English* Occulist, restored to Sight. On the 19th, he went to see the Parliament sitting. He was carried thro' the House of the first President, and conducted from thence, by the Bailiff of the Palace, into the great Chamber, and placed in one of the Lanthorns, from whence he saw the venerable Magistrates sitting on their high Benches. When the Assembly rose, his Czarish Majesty, at his Going away, saluted the August Senate, who were all in their scarlet Robes, and the Presidents in their Fur Gowns. The same Day the *French King* went to the *Hotel de Lesdigueres*, in the Afternoon, to make a Visit to the Czar; who afterwards went to the *Academy of Sciences*, where the Members entertained him with whatever they had that was curious or new; and his Majesty was so much delighted with them, that afterwards, when he returned to *Petersburgh*, he caused *Dr. Areskine* to write a Letter to the Abbot *Biguan* their President, desiring to be admitted a Member of their Society; to which they returned an Answer, with Thanks for the Honour he did them, and received another Letter from him, wrote with his own Hand. From this Time, he was looked upon as one of their Members, and had the Volumes of their Transactions duly sent him, as an Academician.

The Czar, after having heard the Mass of the *Pentecoste*, according to the ancient Style and Liturgy of the *Greek Church*, set out from *Paris* on the 21st, in order to go to the *Spaw*; He was escorted by 10 *Musquetaires*,

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who were to be relieved successively by the like Number, till he came to *Soissons*. He supp'd, and lay the first Night at *Livry*, at the House of the Marquis of that Name. His Majesty was very liberal at his Departure from *Paris*. He presented the Marquis de *Livry* with his Picture set with Diamonds, valued at 40,000 Livres; and the Marquis de *Theffe*, and the Duke d' *Antin*, with the like. He left 10,000 Crowns to be distributed to the King's Servants who attended him, besides 15,000 Livres to the Gardiners of *Versailles*, and other Royal Palaces. The King would have made him a Present of a Sword set with Diamonds; but he desired to be excused from accepting any Thing in Gold or Jewels, but accepted four Sutes of rich Tapestry Hangings out of the Royal Wardrobe, and some Pictures and other Curiosities from the Regent, and other Princes. The Czar left a very great Reputation at the *French* Court, and the Virtuosi were surprized to see a Prince, born in one of the most ignorant Parts of the World, so fond of Arts and Sciences.

His Czarish Majesty arrived, by *Rancy*, *Soissons*, *Rheims*, *Charleville*, *Givet*, and *Bovignes*, at *Namur* on the 25th. He went on Shore at the Gate of *Groignon*, and was complimented by a Discharge of six Salvoes from all the Artillery of the Castle and Town. He mounted a Horse that was presented to him by the Count de *Hompesch*, the Governor, who attended him there, with the chief Officers of the Garrison; and was about two Hours on Horseback, viewing the Fortifications. Then he returned to the Castle, where he was entertained by the Count de *Hompesch*. The Czar shewed himself very affable, drank several Healths, and was pleased to give a particular Relation of the several Battles and Sieges at which he had commanded in Person. After the Entertainment was over, he took Horse again, and rode to the Governor's House, where he supp'd. There was afterwards a Ball, at which several Ladies entertained him with their Voices and Dancing. He danced with one of them, and stay'd till one o' Clock in the Morning, when he went to lie in his Yacht. The next Day his Majesty saw a Combat of Lances upon the *Sambre*, and went round the Fortifications

tions of the City, attended by the Count de *Hompesch* and the Lords of his Retinue. Then his Majesty returning to his Yacht, set out at 11 o' Clock for *Huy*. He was received at *Liege*, on the 27th, with great Marks of Respect by the Magistrates, and other Officers, in the Name of the Elector of *Cologne*. The next Day he went to *Aix* by *Limbourg*, and from thence to the *Spaw*, where he drank the Waters for some Time: And on the 2d of *August* arrived at *Amsterdam*, where the Czarina impatiently waited his Return. After two or three Days Repose, their Majesties went to see the Province of *Utrecht*, and the Palace of *Loz*, from whence they came back to *Amsterdam*, and took Leave of *Holland*, on the 2d of *September*, to go to *Berlin*, by the Way of *Clèves* and *Magdebourg*.

It is no Secret, that while the Czar was at the Court of *France*, he made Proposals, whereby he offered to pour a numerous Army, into the Heart of the Empire, which should be at the Disposition of that Crown, provided they would pay him the Subsidies he demanded: But his Offers there were rejected, as inconsistent with the Engagements *France* was under by her Alliance with his *Britannick* Majesty. It is said, that the Regent gave Intelligence of what had passed to King *George I.* However, his Czarish Majesty, during his Stay at *Paris*, concluded a Treaty of Friendship with *France*, in which the King of *Prussia* was included; and, being much pressed to it by the Regent, he promised to withdraw his Forces from *Mecklenbourg*. The King of *Great Britain*, knowing that, in his Return from *Paris*, he would pass by *Amsterdam* in *August*, sent Admiral *Norris* and Mr. *Whitworth* to him at that Time, with Orders to assure him, that it would be a great Satisfaction to his Majesty to live with him in the same Friendship as before, and to resume the Negotiation of a Treaty of Commerce. But the Czar insisting on a *British* Squadron to act against *Sweden*, under the Orders of the *Russian* Admirals; this Step of his Majesty had no Effect.

The very Day before the Czar's Return to *Amsterdam*, Baron *Gortz* was set at Liberty, who, after having had several Conferences with the *Swedish* Resident, was admitted privately to an Interview with

the Czar and his Ministers at *Loo*; and having taken upon him to adjust all the Differences between the King of *Sweden* and his Czarish Majesty, within three Months after his Arrival in *Sweden*, he set out thither by the Way of *Revel*, furnished with a Passport from the Czar, who engaged absolutely to suspend all Operations against his *Swedish* Majesty, till the End of the said three Months. His Majesty likewise, before his Return into his own Dominions, being much pressed by the Republick of *Poland*, to ease them of the Damages they sustained by his Troops in that Kingdom, sent an Order to the Velt-Mareschal *Czeremetoff*, requiring him to draw off his Forces, and to observe an exact Discipline. Notwithstanding which, the *Russian* Troops remained in *Poland*; which was the Occasion of continual Complaints, and gave room to think that the Velt-Marshal had other private Orders.

On the 19th of *September*, his Czarish Majesty arrived at *Berlin*, where he was received with all the Formalities. The Czarina arrived on the 22d, being met at some Distance by the Queen of *Prussia*, and the Margravine. Their Czarish Majesties were lodged at *Monbijoux*, and magnificently entertained by the *Prussian* Court, whither the Duke and Dutches of *Mecklenbourg* came to pay them a Visit. Their Majesties continued here but three Days, and then took the Route of *Dantzick*, with which City, a few Days before the Czar's Arrival, Prince *Dolgoruki*, and the other *Russian* Ministers, settled an Agreement, which terminated all Differences between the Czar and them, and which his Majesty ratified on his Arrival. By this Treaty the City of *Dantzick* promises to forbear all Correspondence and Traffick with *Sweden* till the End of the War; to fit out and furnish, at their own Cost, three Frigates they had lately built, to act against *Sweden*, under the Colours of his Majesty of *Poland*; to pay the Sum of 140,000 Specie Dollars, each of the Value of six Thymfen, in three several Terms; with other Particulars. From *Dantzick* his Majesty went, by the Way of *Koningberg*, *Riga*, and *Revel*, to *Petersburgh*, where a Multiplicity of Affairs attended his Arrival.

CHAP. VI.

The Czar punishes some of his Ministers, and makes new Regulations in the State. Gortz's Project pursued, Alarms from the Cubanski Tartars. Miscarriage of an Expedition near the Caspian Sea. Prosecution of the Czarcowitz, and his Adherents.

THE Czar arrived at *Petersburgh* on the 21st of *October* 1717, after an Absence of 16 Months. Finding the Complaints of his Subjects here very high against the Ministers, he employed the remaining Part of the Year in redressing the Disorders committed in the State, and in punishing the Authors of them. He assisted in the Senate every Morning at 4 o'Clock, and was at the Pains of hearing and examining the Accusations and Defence of the Parties concerned. But as the Affairs of this Inquisition appeared to be greater than was at first expected, an extraordinary Court of Justice was established. In the mean Time the Prince of *Welchinsky*, Governor of *Archangel*, who had been fully convicted, was shot to Death. The Court of Justice was divided into several Committees, each of which consisted of a Major, a Captain, and a Lieutenant of the Guards, who were to examine into the Causes laid before them, and to give Sentence according to Equity. And in order to remedy the great Want of Money, which appeared at that Time, his Majesty issued an Order, prohibiting the Use of Gold and Silver on Wearing Apparel. Several uselefs Mechanicks who had been brought into the Country were discharged, others were reduced to half Pay, and divers other Methods were tried that were thought conducive to that End. Several *Russians* of Distinction now entering into a Society, for the manufacturing of Silk-Stuffs, the Czar granted them a Privilege for many Years, and raised the Duties on the Importation of foreign Stuffs. He likewise published several other Regulations, which were the Fruits of his own Remarks in his Travels, and appointed several Councils for the Administration of publick Affairs, like

those that had been established by the Duke of Orleans in France.

On the 9th of December M. Weber, the King of Great Britain's Resident, returned to Petersburg, which he had left during the Czar's Absence, with Orders to assure his Majesty of the King's good Dispositions for maintaining with him the same Friendship as formerly. He at the same Time gave the Czar's Ministers to understand, how uneasy his Majesty was at the Interview the Czar had had at Loo with Baron Gortz, and at the Appearances there were of a separate Peace between the Czar and his Swedish Majesty. The Ministers boldly denied that there had been an Interview at Loo: But a little Time after they were obliged to own it. The late Duke of Ormond was come to Mittau in Courland, and had with him Mr. Fernegan, an English Roman Catholic: His Design was not only to negotiate a Marriage between the Princess Anna Petrovna and the Pretender, but also to go over to Sweden, to persuade Charles to make Peace with the Czar, and to turn his Thoughts on setting the Pretender on the Throne of Great Britain: But the Proposal of the Marriage frustrated the last Part of their Scheme; for Baron Gortz had long intended this Lady for the Duke of Holstein, who afterwards married her. Mr. Fernegan was sent to Sweden, to obtain Leave from his Swedish Majesty that the Duke of Ormond might go thither as the Pretender's Minister. Fernegan had Orders to apply to Baron Gortz, which he did accordingly; but the Answer he brought was, that the King of Sweden had great Reasons for not admitting him. He was soon after sent away from Mittau, and Fernegan left to manage the Business at Petersburg, where he never went out but at Night, nor saw the Czar's Ministers but in Disguise. And while Measures were taking privately for a Congress at Abo, his Czarish Majesty set out for Moscow, where he had not been for 8 Years before.

In the Month of January, 1718, an Express arrived from Ukraina, that the Cubanski Tartars were approaching towards the Frontiers of Russia; but so far from being set on by the Porte, that the Governor of Asoph had sent Notice of their Design to the Russian Officers, and

and declared that it was out of his Power to check those Robbers. Upon this, all necessary Orders were given at Petersburg for opposing them; the Cossacks were ordered to mount; 5000 Dragoons, and the like Number of Infantry, were ordered to join them, and to guard the Lines on the River Don, which the Czar had caused to be cast up, at a vast Expence, to cover his Frontiers. The Grand Signior afterwards, in order to remove all Suspicion, sent a Letter under his own Hand to the Czar, promising that in Case these Plunderers, being defeated, should take Refuge in his Dominions, he would cause them to be pursued with Fire and Sword.

On the 4th of February they received more disagreeable Advices at Petersburg, relating to an Expedition near the Caspian Sea. Prince Alexander Bakewitz had been sent by the Czar, to take Possession of the River in which the Gold Sand is found, and to discover Mines in the Mountains of Great Tartary, at the Head of 3000 Men; among whom were 300 Saxons, who were taken Prisoners at Pultowa. Their Design was to raise two Forts on the Caspian Sea, to facilitate the Commerce; and to cover the Gallies that were built for that End. Accordingly they erected Forts with Shells, which lie in prodigious Quantities on the Shore, without the least Opposition at first from the Tartars and Calmucks. But when the Army penetrated further into the Country, through the great Step or Desert, and arrived at the Place where the Gold Sand is found; the Subjects of the Cham of Schirvan taking Umbrage, gathered to the Number of 50,000, and refused to accept the Presents that were tendered them on the Part of the Czar. However, they shewed Compassion to see so fine an Army in Distress, and offered to supply them with Water and Provisions, on Condition that they should return Home in separate Bodies. The General was drawn into the Snare, and dividing his Forces into several Detachments, some of 300, some of 500 Men, in Order to march off, they all fell a Sacrifice to the deceitful Enemy. The Prince was carried before the Cham's Tent, where a Piece of red Cloth was spread upon the Ground, the usual Sign of Blood among the Tartars; and upon his refusing to submit to his melancholy Fate, they first cut him with

their Scymetars in the Calves of his Legs, and afterwards massacred him in a miserable Manner. His divided Forces were all cut to Pieces, except those of the Artillery, who were afterwards employed by the Enemy in the Siege of *Mexetz*, a frontier Place of *Persia*; and by the Help of those Gunners, and the Cannon and Ammunition which they had taken from the *Russians*, they forced the Governor to surrender, and got a rich Booty in the Place, where there was a Monastery, the Walls of which were lined with Gold Plates. The Musicians, and several young Volunteers, who were most of them Sons of Boyars, had likewise their Lives spared, and were afterwards sold. The Father of Prince *Bekewitz*, a *Circassian* by Birth, had brought himself into Disgrace with the King of *Persia* by refusing to resign to him his Wife: So shaking off his Obedience to that Prince, he came to beg the Protection of the Czar, who received him with extraordinary Honours, promising to restore him to his Territories: But he dying soon after, left to this Prince *Alexander*, his only Son, the immense Treasures he had brought with him to *Muscovy*. The young Prince was married to a beautiful Princess of the House of *Galliczin*, who was unfortunately drowned in the *Volga*, some Time before the Fate of her Husband.

It was believed that the Czar would take the first Opportunity of revenging himself on those *Tartars*, who have nothing to defend themselves but their Scymetars, Bows and Arrows, and very swift Horses. He intended to send a less numerous Army against them, which might more easily be furnished with Water and Provisions; and caused new Forts to be raised in their Country, for covering those Mines which he intended to open. The *Persians* had long before an Eye upon the Gold Sand there; but the Inhabitants choaked up the Mouth of the River *Daria* on the *Caspian Sea*, and diverted its Course into the flat Country. Part of Prince *Bekewitz's* Commission was to restore Things to their former Condition, with respect to that River, in order to keep open the Communication with the Mountains, and to avoid the troublesome Passage thither by Land. But this Undertaking, and all others, were laid aside for a while, to make way for an Affair which his Majesty had

had more at Heart than any Thing else, and which may be looked upon as one of the most extraordinary Events of his Life. This was an Enquiry into the Crimes of his Son *Alexis Petrowitz*, the Heir Apparent to his Crown, who, during his Absence, had made his Escape out of the Kingdom, in Breach of the Laws thereof.

News being now brought from *Novogorod*, that the Privy Counsellor *Tolsky* was come thither in his Way to *Moscow*, with the *Czarewitz*, whom, by his Father's Orders, he had been to fetch from *Naples*, and whom his Majesty designed to punish in an exemplary Manner, the following Manifesto was published, to satisfy every one of the Reasons of his Conduct in so delicate an Affair.

PETER I. by the Grace of God, Czar and Emperor of *Russia*, &c.

It is notorious to the greatest Part of our faithful Subjects, and chiefly to those who live in the Places of our Residence, or who are in our Service, with how much Care we have caused our eldest Son *Alexis* to be educated, having given him, from his Infancy, Tutors to teach him the *Russian* and foreign Languages, and others to instruct him in all Arts and Sciences, in order not only to bring him up in our Orthodox Faith of the *Greek* Confession, but also in the Knowledge of Political and Military Affairs, and of the Constitution of foreign Countries, their Customs and Languages, that through the Reading of History and other Books, he might acquire the Qualifications worthy of a Successor to our Throne of *Great Russia*. Nevertheless we have seen with Grief, that all our Attention and Care for the Instruction of our Son proved ineffectual, seeing he always swerved from his filial Obedience, shewing no Application for what was becoming a worthy Successor, and slighting the Precepts of the Masters we had appointed for him: but on the contrary frequenting disorderly Persons, from whom he could learn nothing good.

We have not neglected often to endeavour to bring him back to his Duty, sometimes by gentle Means, sometimes by Reprimands, sometimes by paternal Corrections. We have more than once taken him along with

with us into our Army, to cause him to be instructed in the Art of War, as one of the chief Sciences for the Defence of his Country; taking Care to keep him off from any dangerous Occasion, out of Regard to the Succession, tho' we exposed our own Person to those Perils. We have at other Times left him at *Moscow*, putting into his Hands a Sort of Regency in the Empire, in order to form him in the Art of Government. We have afterwards sent him into foreign Countries, in Hopes, that seeing in his Travels Governments so well regulated, this would excite in him an Inclination to apply himself to do well. But all our Care has been fruitless, and like the Seed of the Doctrine fallen upon a Rock: For he has not only refused to follow that which is good, but even is come to hate it. He only and continually conversed with disorderly Persons, whose Morals were abominable.

As we were resolved to endeavour by all imaginable Means to reclaim him, and inspire him with an Inclination to converse with Persons of Virtue and Honour, we exhorted him to chuse a Consort among the Princesses of the chief foreign Houses, as is usual in other Countries, and hath been practised by our Ancestors, the Czars of *Muscovy*; and we left him at full Liberty to make a Choice. He declared his Inclination for the Princess, Grand-Daughter to the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle* then reigning, Sister-in-Law to the Emperor of the *Romans* now reigning, and Cousin to the King of *Great Britain*; and having desired us to procure him that Alliance, and permit him to marry that Princess, we readily consented thereunto, without any Regard to the great Expence which was occasioned by that Marriage. But after its Consummation, we found ourselves disappointed of the Hope we had, that the Change of the Condition of our Son would produce a Change in his bad Inclinations, but found quite the Reverse of what was expected: For notwithstanding his Spouse was, as far as we have been able to observe, a wise, sprightly Princess, and of a virtuous Conduct, he lived with her in the greatest Disunion, while he redoubled his Affection for lewd People, bringing thereby a Disgrace upon our House before the foreign Princes, to whom that Princess was related,

lated, which drew upon us many Reproaches. These Advices and Exhortations proved ineffectual: On the contrary, he violated at last the conjugal Faith, and gave his Affection to a Prostitute of the most servile Condition, living publickly in that Crime with her, to the great Contempt of his lawful Spouse, who soon after died of Sickness; and it was believed that her Grief, occasioned by the Life of her Husband, hastened the End of her Days.

When we saw his Resolution to persevere in his vicious Course, we declared to him at the Funeral of his Consort, that if he did not for the future conform himself to our Will, and apply himself to Things becoming a Prince, we would deprive him of the Succession, without any Regard to his being our only Son, (our second Son not then being born); because we would rather chuse for our Successor a Stranger worthy thereof, than an unworthy Son; that we could not leave our Empire to such a Successor, who would ruin what the Father hath, by God's Assistance, established, and tarnish the Glory of the *Russian* Nation, for the acquiring of which we had sacrificed our Ease and our Health, willingly exposing our own Life on several Occasions: Besides, that the Fear of God's Judgment would not permit us to leave the Government of such vast Territories in the Hands of one whose Insufficiency and Unworthiness we were not ignorant of. In short, we exhorted him, in the most pressing Terms, to behave himself with Discretion, and gave him Time to repent and return to his Duty.

His Answer to these Remonstrances was, That he acknowledged himself guilty in all these Points; but alledging the Weakness of his Genius, which did not permit him to apply himself to the Functions recommended to him, he owned himself incapable of our Succession, desiring us to discharge him from the same.

Nevertheless, we continued to exhort him with paternal Affection, and joining Menaces to our Exhortations, we forgot nothing to bring him back to the right Way; and the Operations of War having obliged us to repair to *Denmark*, we left him at *Petersburgh*, to give him Time to return to his Duty. And afterwards, upon the repeated Advices we received of the Continuation of his

his disorderly Life, we sent him Orders to come to us at *Copenhagen*, to make the Campaign, that he might thereby the better form himself. But forgetting the Fear and Commandments of God, who enjoins Obedience even to private Parents, and much more to those who are at the same Time Sovereigns, our paternal Cares had no other Return than an unheard-of Ingratitude. For, instead of coming to us as he was ordered, he withdrew, taking along with him great Sums of Money, and his infamous Concubine, with whom he continued to live in a criminal Course. He put himself under the Protection of the Emperor, raising against us a World of Calumnies and false Reports, as if we did persecute, and intended, without Cause, to deprive him of our Succession; alledging, that even his Life was not safe if he continued with us, and desiring the Emperor not only to give him Refuge, but also to protect him against us by Force of Arms.—The Emperor, tho' informed of his Excesses, and how he had lived with his Consort, Sister-in-Law to his Imperial Majesty, thought fit, upon his pressing Instances, to appoint a Place where he might reside; and he desired farther, that he might be so private there, that we might not come to the Knowledge of it.

Mean while, his long Stay having made us fear, that some Misfortune had befallen him, we sent Persons several Ways to get Intelligence of him; and after a great deal of Trouble, we were at last informed by the Captain of our Guard, *Alexander Romanzoff*, that he was privately kept in an Imperial Fortrefs in *Tyrol*: Whereupon we wrote a Letter with our own Hand to the Emperor, to desire that he might be sent back to us. But notwithstanding the Emperor's acquainting him with our Demands, and exhorting him to return to us, and submit to our Will; yet he alledged, with a great many Calumnies against us, that he ought not to be delivered into our Hands; as if we had been a Tyrant, from whom he had nothing to expect but Death. In short, he persuaded his Imperial Majesty, instead of sending him back at that Time to us, to remove him to *Naples* in *Italy*, and keep him there secretly in the Castle, under a borrowed Name.

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Nevertheless, we had Notice from our said Captain of the Place where he was, and thereupon dispatched to the Emperor our Privy Councillor *Peter Toffey*, and the Captain of our Guard aforesaid, with a most pressing Letter, representing how unjust it would be to detain our Son, contrary to all Laws divine and human; according to which private Parents, and with much more Reason those who are invested with Sovereign Authority, have an unlimited Power over their Children, independantly of any other Judge: And we set forth on one Side, the just and affectionate Manner with which we had always used our Son; and on the other, his Disobedience; representing, in the Conclusion, the ill Consequences the Refusal of delivering up our said Son to us might occasion, because we could not leave this Affair in that Condition. We ordered those we sent with that Letter to make verbal Representations even in more pressing Terms, and declare that we should be obliged to revenge, by all possible Means, such detaining of our Son.

We wrote likewise to him a Letter with our own Hand, to represent to him the Impiety of his Conduct, and the Enormity of the Crime he had committed against us, his Father; and how God threatned, in his Laws, to punish disobedient Children. We threatned him, as a Father, with our Curse, and, as his Lord, to declare him a Traitor to his Country, unless he returned and obeyed our Commands; and gave him Assurances, that if he did as we desired, we would pardon his Crime.

Our Envoys, after many Solicitations, and the above-said Representation made by us in Writing, at last obtained Leave of the Emperor to go and speak to our Son, in order to dispose him to return Home. The Imperial Ministers gave them, at the same Time, to understand, that our Son had informed the Emperor that we persecuted him, and that his Life was not safe with us, whereby he had moved the Emperor's Compassion; but that the Emperor, taking now into his Consideration our true Representations, promised he would give Orders to endeavour, by all possible Means, to dispose him to return to us, and would moreover declare to him that he could

could not in Justice refuse to deliver him up to his Father, and fall out with us on that Account.

Our Envoys, upon their Arrival at *Naples*, having desired to deliver to him our Letter, sent us word, that he did not only refuse to admit them, but that the Emperor's Viceroy had found Means, by inviting him home to his House, to present them to him afterwards against his Will. He did then indeed receive our Letter, containing our Paternal Exhortation, and threatening our Curse; but without shewing the least Inclination to return; alledging still a great many Falsities against us, as if, by Reason of several Dangers he had to apprehend from us, he could not and would not return; and boasting that the Emperor had promised not only to protect him against us, but even to set him upon the Throne of *Russia* against our Will, by Force of Arms.

Our Envoys, perceiving this evil Disposition, try'd all imaginable Ways to prevail with him to return: They intreated him; they expatiated upon our Assurances towards him, and upon our Threats in Case of Disobedience. They declared, that the Emperor would not enter into a War with us on his Account; and many other Representations did they make to him. But he paid no Regard to all this, neither shewed any Inclination to return to us, till the Imperial Viceroy, convinced of his Obstinacy, told him in the Emperor's Name, that he ought to return; for that his Imperial Majesty could not keep him from us, nor embroil himself with us upon his Account.

When he saw how the Case stood, he at length resolv'd to return Home, and declared his Mind to our Envoys, and to the Imperial Viceroy. He likewise wrote the same Thing to us, acknowledging himself a Criminal: And in this Manner he is arriv'd here.

And albeit now our Son, by so long a Course of Disobedience against us his Father and Lord, and particularly for the Dishonour he hath cast upon us in the Face of the World, by withdrawing himself, and raising Calumnies of us, and for opposing his Sovereign, hath deserved to be punished with Death: Nevertheless, our paternal Affection inclines us to have Mercy upon him, and we therefore pardon his Crimes, and exempt him from

from all Punishments of the same. But considering his Unworthiness, we cannot in Conscience leave him, after us, the Succession of the Throne of *Russia*; foreseeing that he would entirely destroy the Glory of our Nation, and the Safety of our Dominions, which, thro' God's Assistance, we have acquired and established by an incessant Application.

Now, as we should pity our faithful Subjects, if by such a Successor we should throw them back into a worse Condition than ever they were yet: So, by the paternal Authority, in Virtue of which, by the Laws of our Empire, even any of our Subjects may disinherit a Son; and in Quality of Sovereign Prince, in Consideration of the Safety of our Dominions; We do deprive our Son *Alexis* of the Succession to our Throne of *Russia*, even tho' there should not remain a single Person of our Family after us: And we do constitute and declare Successor to the said Throne after us, our second Son *Peter*, tho' yet very young, having no Successor that is older.

We lay upon our said Son *Alexis* our paternal Curse, if ever he pretends to, or reclaims, the said Succession. And we desire our faithful Subjects, of all Ranks and Conditions, that, in Conformity to this Constitution, they acknowledge and consider our said Son *Peter*, appointed by us to succeed, as lawful Successor, and that they confirm the Whole by Oath before the Altar, upon the Holy Gospel, kissing the Cross. And all those who shall ever, at any Time, oppose this our Will, and shall dare to consider our Son *Alexis* as Successor, or to assist him for that Purpose, we declare them Traitors to us and their Country. And we have ordered that these Presents shall be every where published, to the End no Person may pretend Ignorance.

Done at *Moscow*, the 3d
of February 1718, O. S.

On the 11th of February the *Czarewitsch Alexis*, being arriv'd with the *Sieur Tolstoy* at *Moscow*, waited the same Night on the Czar, with whom he had a long Conference. The next Day a great Council was held, and his Majesty having resolv'd to exert, in a very solemn

solemn Manner, his Justice upon the Prince for his Disobedience; Orders were given for the necessary Preparations to be made for that Purpose. Accordingly on the 14th, before Break of Day, the Guards and Garrison of the City were posted round the Castle, to secure all the Gates and Avenues; and Orders were sent to all his Majesty's Ministers, Boyars, and Councillors, to repair to the great Hall in the Castle, and to the Clergy to assemble in the Cathedral. Then the great Bell was toll'd, and the Prince was brought in as a Prisoner; and being carried into the Czar's Presence, who was standing in the Hall, presented a Writing to his Majesty, containing a Confession of his Crime, and in Tears fell at his Feet. The Czar gave the Paper to Baron *Schafiroff*, his Vice-Chancellor, and afterwards raising his Son from the Ground, demanded of him, What was his Desire? The Prince implored his Mercy, and begged he would save his Life. His Majesty granted his Request; but told him, he had cut himself off from the Hopes of inheriting his Crown; that he must solemnly renounce the Succession, and acknowledge the same under his Hand: Which he answered he was ready to perform. The Czar then expostulated with him upon his Disobedience, and asked him, Who were the Advisers of his late Escape? Upon which the Prince drew near and whispered him, and they went together into an adjoining Room, where it is supposed he named the Persons, because soon after three Couriers were dispatched several Ways.

His Majesty and the Prince being returned into the Hall, the Prince signed an Instrument, setting forth, That finding himself unqualified for Government, he therefore disclaimed any Right of Succession to the Crown. Then several Articles, containing a Deduction of the Causes of his Majesty's excluding his eldest Son from the Succession, were read aloud. This being done, the Ministers, Boyars, Officers, and others, who were present, swore upon the Gospel, and subscribed an Oath, importing, That the Czar having declared that he had excluded from the Crown the Czarewitz *Alexis Petrowitz*, and had appointed his second Son the Prince Royal *Peter Petrowitz* to succeed him; they owned the Legality of this his Majesty's Decree, acknowledged the

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said *Peter Petrowitz* to be the undoubted Successor to the Crown, engaged to stand by him with their Lives against any that should dare to oppose him, and never to adhere to Prince *Alexis Petrowitz*, or assist him in the Recovery of the said Succession. Then the Company repaired to the Cathedral, where the Czar, in a long Speech, set forth his Son's undutiful Behaviour: After which, the Clergy swore and subscribed the Oath abovementioned. This being ended, the Company was dismiss'd, and his Majesty returned to his Apartment. The said Oath was afterwards administered to all the publick Officers, and other Inhabitants of *Moscow*, who were not present at the Solemnity; and Orders were sent for doing the like all over the *Russian* Empire, and in his Majesty's Armies abroad. The Prince was kept under Confinement, and no Body admitted to him but the *Sieur Tolstoy*, and such others as were appointed by the Czar.

On the 18th of February, at Midnight, the House of *M. Kikin*, Commissioner of the Admiralty, and formerly the Czar's great Favourite, was surrounded by 50 Grenadiers. The Czar's Displeasure being signified to him in his Bed, he was forthwith put in Irons, and was carried away in such Haste from *Petersburgh*, that he he had hardly Time to take Leave of his Lady. The *Siberian Czarewitz*, and all the Servants of the *Russian Czarewitz*, had the same Fate, and were most of them carried away fettered on the 22d to *Moscow*. Orders were sent, at the same Time, to Prince *Menzikoff* at *Petersburgh*, to seize the Kneez *Wassili Wolodimirowitz Dolgoruki*, and to send him with a strong Guard to *Moscow*. He was Lieutenant General, Colonel of the Guards of *Preobrazinsky*, Knight of the Order of the Elephant, and General Inquisitor of the Commission for enquiring into the Mismanagement of the Czar's Revenues. Prince *Menzikoff* went to his House with a good Number of Soldiers, and notified to him his Disgrace; upon which *Dolgoruki* delivered up his Sword, with these few Words: *I have a good Conscience, and but one Head to lose*. Prince *Menzikoff* went with the like Commission to the Senator, *Peter Maturwitz Abramix*; to *Abraham Fedrawitz Lopuchin*; to the Sena-

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ter *Samarin*; to *Woinoff*; to *Woroff*; to *Iwan Waffilewitz Kikin*, *Alexander Kikin's* Brother; and Nine other Persons. After this the Prince, according to the Orders sent from the Czar, called together the Army, and the States of Nobility, Burghers, and Peasants, to take the Oath of Fidelity to Prince *Peter Petrowitz*; which Ceremony was performed with great Pomp on the 9th of *March*, in the Church of the Holy Trinity.

The Grand Inquisition at *Moscow* still went on. There were two different Processes, one of which related to the *Czarewitz*, and the other to the late *Czarina*, and Major General *Gleboff*: The former was finished at *Petersburgh*, and the latter at *Moscow*. The Concurrence of People at *Moscow* was extraordinary on this Occasion. The whole Court was there, with the greater Part of the Generals and superior Officers, the Chief of the Clergy and Nobility of all *Russia*. The Procession of the Clergy, who at different Times went with their whole Train to the Czar's Palace, to the Trial of their Brother the Bishop of *Rosloff*, made a noble Appearance: But what most deserved every one's Attention, was to hear the Czar himself, contrary to the Custom of his Predecessors, make Speeches to the Clergy and great Men in the Hall, representing to them and the People, with his natural Eloquence (in which Accomplishment, as well as that of expressing himself in Writing, he had no Equal among his Subjects) the Danger to which his Government had been exposed, and the Horror of the Crime of High Treason. Upon which, *Dossifei* the Bishop of *Rosloff*, and *Pustinoi* the Confessor of the late *Czarina*, were divested of their Ecclesiastical Habit, and delivered up to the secular Arm.

On these Solemnities the Czar appeared in his usual Dress, being naturally an Enemy to all Pageantry, and affecting a plain Dress and small Retinue. Even at the Time we are speaking of, in the midst of the Disturbances of his own Family, he had never above 2 or 3 Servants attending his Sled, in which, by Night as well as Day, he was carried up and down the City.

The Senator *Samarin* was acquitted; as was also Count *Peter Matuewitz Apraxin*, Senator, and formerly Governor of *Astracan*. But the Prince *Wassili Wolodim*

mirowitz Dolgoruki, Lieutenant General, was ordered to be continued under close Confinement. The other principal Persons involved in this Grand Inquisition, besides the *Czarewitz* and *Kikin*, were the former *Czarina Otokesa Federowna*, of the Family of *Lopuchin*; her Father Confessor; *Maria Alexewna*, the Czar's Sister by the half Blood; the *Czarewitz* of *Siberia*; the Boyar *Stepan Gleboff*; *Dossifei* Bishop of *Rosloff*; and the Treasurer of the Monastery of *Susdal*: Of whom the Boyar *Gleboff*, the Bishop *Dossifei*, *Kikin*, the Treasurer of the Monastery of *Susdal*, and another *Russian*, were executed in the publick Market Place of the City of *Moscow*, on the 26th of *March*. *Gleboff* was empaled alive, and the others broke on the Wheel. The Corpse of the Bishop was burnt; but his Head, with those of *Kikin*, and the other *Russian*, were put on high Poles, on the 4 Corners of a square Wall erected for that Purpose, and the empaled Corpse of *Gleboff* placed in the Middle. *Baklanofsky*, the Czar's Page, and some Nuns, had their Sentence mitigated, but suffered severe corporal Punishments. This *Baklanofsky* had been the Spy of *Kikin*, even in the Czar's Closet, and when the Czar was writing an Order to Prince *Menzikoff*, to send *Kikin* Prisoner to *Moscow*, he stood behind him all that Time, and going directly to the Post House, dispatched an Express to *Kikin* at *Petersburgh*, who arrived there almost at the same Time with the Courier of the Czar, but yet too late. The Czar suspecting the sudden disappearing of the Page, sent into the City to enquire what he had been doing, and so his Practices were discovered.

Afrosini, the *Czarewitz's* Mistress, was set at Liberty, not only in Consideration of the open Confessions she had made, but also because, by her Persuasions, she had much contributed to the *Czarewitz's* Return. She was of very mean Extraction, being a *Finlandish* Captive; and she pretended, that the *Czarewitz* forced her to comply with his Will, threatening her with Death on Refusal. It is maintained by several, that after her first Lying-in, and upon her conforming to the *Russian* Faith, she was actually married to the *Czarewitz* on their Journey, by a *Grecian* Priest, who was likewise seized at *Leipzig*, and carried Prisoner to *Russia*. This Circumstance

stance appeared the more probable, because having obtained his Majesty's full Pardon, and had several Jewels restored to her, with this Declaration, that if she had a Mind to marry, she should receive a Portion out of the Czar's Treasury; she made this Answer: *I first yielded to one Man's Will out of Force,--henceforth no other shall come near me.*

The Emperor of Germany being not at all satisfied with some Expressions used in the Czar's Manifesto, particularly where it says, "That his Imperial Majesty had not only advised that unfortunate Prince to return Home, but even threatened to refuse him his Protection, if he did not comply with his Father's Desires;" his Imperial Majesty notified to the Diet of the Empire, That the Czar had been misinformed in that Point; and that he had never persuaded that Prince to return Home; On the contrary, that if he had intimated to his Imperial Majesty his Resolution not to do so, he would not have refused him his Protection, to which he had so just a Claim, both by the Law of Nations, and by his being so nearly related to him. The Emperor wrote, on this Occasion, a Letter to the same Purport to his Czarish Majesty.

The Czar arrived at *Petersburgh*, from *Moscow*, on the 4th of *April*, and immediately went to the Dock, and ordered the Men of War newly built there to be launched, as soon as the Harbour was clear of Ice. His Majesty having taken Umbrage at the Armament made by the States General, at this Time, for the *Baltick*, as if it were designed to compel *Sweden* to make a separate Peace with the King of *Great Britain*, Prince Kurakin, his Ambassador, presented a Memorial to the States on that Subject; and their High Mightinesses being dissatisfied with some Expressions used by that Minister, it was resolved that their Deputies for foreign Affairs should make an Answer to the said Memorial, which was communicated accordingly. After expressing their High Mightinesses Surprize at the Contents of the said Writing, and at the Information given to his Czarish Majesty, it sets forth, That their High Mightinesses have hitherto observed an exact Neutrality in Relation to the War in the North, and their Intention is to continue

time the same; but that the Damage they have hitherto suffered by that War, has made them always wish that it might be entirely terminated, the sooner the better, by a general Peace; and that if their High Mightinesses could in any Manner contribute to it, with the Consent of all the Parties that are in the War, they should be extremely willing to do it.

About the latter End of *May*, the first Conference was held between the Plenipotentiaries of the Czar and the King of *Sweden*, at *Aland*, to which Place the Treaty was transferred from *Abo*, by the Desire of Baron *Gortz*. The *Russian* Fleet was, at the same Time, ready to put to Sea from *Cronstot*, which the Czar intended to command in Person; and an Interview was likewise projected between the King of *Prussia* and his Majesty at *Memel*: But when his *Prussian* Majesty had been 2 Days at that Town, in Expectation of seeing him, the Czar was obliged to send an Excuse, on Account of some important Affairs which required his Presence at *Petersburgh*.





THE
HISTORY
OF
PETER The Great,
CZAR of MUSCOVY.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Trial of the Czarewicz: His Sentence and sudden Death. The Czar orders an Account of it to be given in a circular Letter. Endeavours to suppress any false Reports concerning this and his other Affairs. He punishes the rest of the Criminals in the late Conspiracy.



OST People imagined, upon the Execution of so many considerable Persons, that the whole Business of the Conspiracy was finished, and that the Grand Inquisition would be set aside: But it soon appeared, to the Astonishment of every one, that all the Tortures made

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use of at *Moscow*, had not been sufficient to discover the whole Truth of that Affair; nor would they have been able to draw more Light from the remaining Prisoners, had not the Mystery been unravelled by intercepted Letters. The Czar therefore saw himself necessitated to establish a second High-Court of Justice. To this End he convoked the Chief of the *Russian* Clergy, with all possible Speed, to *Petersburgh*: And having besides established another Court, consisting of the Ministers, Senators, Governors, Generals, and superior Officers of his Guards, his Majesty, for eight several Days, continued some Hours on his Knees, imploring God, with Abundance of Tears, to inspire him with such Thoughts as the Honour of his holy Name, and the Welfare of the *Russian* Nation required. On the 25th of *June*, 1718, the Sessions of this Criminal Court were opened in the Hall of the Senate, whither his Czarish Majesty repaired, with the whole Body of the Clergy and the Secular Judges, after having first caused solemn Service to be performed in the Church of the Holy Ghost. The whole Assembly having taken their respective Places, at several Tables, the Doors and Windows were set open, in order to give free Admittance to all Sorts of Persons. Upon this the Czarewicz was brought into Court, under the Guard of four Under-Officers; and upon his Appearance, his Majesty made a brief Declaration of the Causes why he had called them together, and ordered all the Writings to be publicly read, which concerned this Affair; the most considerable of which here follow in order.

THO' the Flight of the Czarewicz *Alexis*, and a Part of his Crimes, be already known to the whole World, by the Manifesto which was published of them at *Moscow*; yet there are daily discovered such unexpected and surprising Attempts, as far surpass what has been already published; and shew with what Baseness and Villainy the Prince endeavoured to impose upon his Sovereign and Father; what grievous Perjuries he committed against God, with the imaginary Illness he feigned, to prevent an Inquiry into his ill Practices, and the Discovery of his pernicious Intrigues. All this shall

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be laid open with Perspicuity and Order, by giving a full Account of the Matter from its first Beginning.

The Czarewitz *Alexis* had hardly attained to the Age of Reason, before his Czarian Majesty, his Father, employed all Sorts of Means to form his Mind for managing the Affairs of the Government, and to instruct him in the Art of War, as is related in the Manifesto of *Moscov.* The same Cares were continued for several Years, without any Benefit or Progress. His Majesty expected his Amendment from Day to Day, by a Change of Conduct, and an Alteration of Manners; but observing the Prince opposed himself to all his good Designs, he declared to him his Intentions by Writing, and demanded of him his last Resolution. Thus in the Year 1715, on the 11th of *October*, upon his Return from the Funeral of the Princess of the Crown, espoused to the Czarewitz, his Czarian Majesty went in Person to the Prince, and gave him the following Writing.

A DECLARATION to my SON.

YOU cannot be ignorant of what all the World is acquainted with, under how severe an Oppression the People groaned from the *Swedish* Yoke, before the Beginning of the present War. By the Usurpation of so many maritime Places, which were necessary to our State, they cut us off from all Commerce with the rest of the World, and we saw with Regret, that they had also cast a Veil before the Eyes of Clearest-sighted. You know very well what Pains it has cost us in the Beginning of this War, (in which God alone has led us, as it were by the Hand, and whose Providence still conducts us) to gain Experience, and oppose ourselves to the Advantages which our irreconcilable Enemies had gained over us. We submitted to this Trial with Resignation to the Will of God; not doubting but that it was he who laid it upon us, till he had brought us into a good Way, and we were accounted worthy to prove by Experience, that the same Enemy before whom we have formerly trembled, could also tremble in his Turn, and perhaps with a severer Terror. These are the Advantages which, next to the Divine Assistance, we owe to

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our Labours, and the Labours of our faithful and affectionate Children, our Subjects of *Russia*.

But whilst I reflect upon the Prosperity which God has heaped upon our County, if I turn my Eyes upon the succeeding Generation, my Heart is more fill'd with Grief at the future Prospect, than I enjoy Satisfaction for the past Blessing, whilst I observe you, my Son, to reject all the Means that may render you capable of governing well upon my Decease. I charge your Incapacity upon your Want of Inclination, as you cannot excuse yourself by any Defect in your Understanding, or Strength, as tho' God had not favoured you with sufficient Abilities. For tho' you are not of the most robust Complexion in the World, yet you cannot complain of a weak Disposition.

To talk of the Exercises of the War is burthensome to you, tho' it is by them we have emerged from our former Obscurity, and made ourselves known and esteemed by all the Nations around us. I would not advise you to make War without a lawful Cause; all that I ask of you is to apply yourself to learn the Art of War. For it is impossible to govern well without knowing the Rules of Military Discipline, tho' it should be no otherwise useful than in the Defence of our Country. I could lay before your Eyes a great Number of Examples, to confirm you in the Truth of what I say; but I shall only mention to you the *Greeks*, with whom we are united in the Profession of the same Faith. From whence came the Fall of their Empire, unless from the Neglect of Arms? It was Idleness and Indolence which weakened them, and made them a Prey to Tyrants, and subject to that Slavery they have so long groaned under.

You are much mistaken, if you think it is sufficient for a Prince to have good Councils to act under his Command. All Mens Eyes are fixed upon the King; his Inclinations are studied and pursued, as all the World perceives. My Brother, for Instance, during his Reign, was fond of Magnificence in Dress, and took Delight in Horfes. This was by no means the Taste of the Country; but the Inclination of the Prince soon gained Ground among his Subjects, who are led to imitate him in what he loves, as they disregard what he hates.

If the People are so easily given to change in an Affair of Pleasure, will they not be apt to forget, in Course of Time, and even more easily abandon, the Use of Arms, which cannot be exercised without some Labour and Pains, if they are not constantly inured to it?

You have no Inclination to learn the Business of War, nor apply yourself to it, and consequently can never possibly be acquainted with it. How then can you command over others, and judge of the Reward which they deserve who do their Duty, or punish those who neglect it? You can do nothing of yourself, and will be obliged to judge by the Eyes and Assistance of another, like a helpless Bird who is fed by its Dam. You urge, that your Want of Health will not allow you to support the Fatigues of War; but this Excuse is no better than the rest. I do not require Fatigues from you; I should only be glad to see such an Inclination in you, which is not in the Power of Sickness to prevent. Enquire of those who lived in my Brother's Reign: His Health was far more indisposed than ever yours was; he was utterly unable to manage a rough Horse, and could hardly mount one; but he loved Horses, and for this Reason there never was, and perhaps never will be again in the Country, so fine a Stable as he had. You see by this, that Success does not always depend upon Labour, but upon Inclination.

If you think that the Affairs of some Princes are attended with Success, tho' themselves be not present in the War, you are certainly in the right; but tho' they be not present, their Inclination is there, and it is the Business they understand. For Instance, the late King of France did not always make War in Person; but every one knows how fond he was of Military Expeditions, and how many glorious Exploits he performed; so that his Campaigns have been named the Theatre and School of the World. Nor was his Inclination confined only to Military Affairs; he had Regard also to Mechanick Arts, Manufactures, and other Establishments, which have rendered his Kingdom more flourishing than those of his Neighbours.

And now, after these Remonstrances, I return to my first Subject, which concerns you.

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I am a Man, and by Consequence must die; and whom shall I leave behind me to finish what by God's Grace, I have begun, and preserve what, in Part, I have received? A Man, who, like the Sluggard in the Gospel, hides his Talent in the Ground, and neglects to exert the Faculties which God has given him. Call to Mind the Obstinacy of your Temper, and the Perverseness of your Disposition. How often have I reproached you with them, and even corrected you for them? and for how many Years have I desisted from speaking any longer of them? But all has been to no Purpose; and my Reproofs have been fruitless. I have only lost my Time, and beaten the Air. You do not so much as strive to grow better, and all your Satisfaction seems to consist in Laziness and Inactivity. What you ought to be most ashamed of, as being a real Misery, you seem to be delighted with, without foreseeing the dangerous Consequences attending upon it, with Reference both to yourself and the whole State. It is a great Truth St. Paul has taught us, when he says, *If a Man cannot govern his own Family, how shall he be able to govern the Church of God.*

After having considered all these Inconveniencies, and reflected upon them, as I see I have not been able to engage you by any Motive to do as you ought, I have judged it convenient to lay before you in Writing this Act of my last Will, resolving still to wait a little longer before I come to a final Execution of my Purpose, to try whether you will amend or no; and if not, be assured that I will deprive you of the Succession, and cut you off as an unprofitable Member. Do not think, that because I have no other Child*, I say this only with a Design to fright you. I will certainly do what I say, if it shall so please God. For as I spare not my own Life for the Good of my Country, and the Safety of my People, why should I spare you, who will not be at the Pains to be worthy of them? I shall rather chuse to transmit them into the Hands of a worthy Stranger, than give them to an unworthy Son.

PETER.

* This Letter was written eighteen Days before the Birth of the Czarewicz, PETER PETROWITZ.

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The Answer of the Czarewitz to his Czarian Majesty, written three Days after the Birth of the Czarewitz PETER PETROWITZ.

Most Clement Lord and Father,

I Have read the Writing your Majesty gave me, after the Interment of my late Spouse. I have nothing to reply to it, but that if it is your Majesty's Pleasure to deprive me of the Succession to the Crown of *Russia*, by Reason of my Inability, your Will be done. I even earnestly request it at your Majesty's Hands, as I do not think myself fit for the Government. My Memory is much weakened, and without it there is no Possibility of managing Affairs; my Mind and Body are much decayed by the Distemper to which I have been subject, which renders me incapable of governing so many People, who must necessarily require a more vigorous Man at their Head than I am. For which Reason I should not aspire to the Succession of the Crown of *Russia* after you, whom God long preserve, tho' I had no Brother, as I have at present, whom I pray God also to preserve. Nor will I ever hereafter lay Claim to the Succession, as I call God to Witness by solemn Oath; in Confirmation whereof, I write and sign the present Letter with my own Hand.

I give my Children into your Hands; and, for my Part, desire no more than a bare Maintenance to keep us I live, leaving all the rest to your Consideration and good Pleasure.

Your most humble Servant, and Son,

ALEXIS.

His Majesty afterwards wrote a second Letter to the Czarewitz, which he tells him shall be his last, requiring him either immediately to change his Conduct, or take upon him the Monastic Vow: In answer to which the Czarewitz declares his Resolution to do the latter, and desires his Majesty's Consent for so doing. After which the Czar, before his Departure into Foreign Countries, visited the Czarewitz at his House, to bid him Farewel. He found him in Bed, as though

he had been sick; and yet he was hardly parted from him, before he went to an Entertainment with the Diack *Michel Voinea*.

His Majesty then demanded of him what Resolution he had taken; and the Czarewitz affirmed to him again, with solemn Oaths, that he wished for nothing with a more eager Passion, than to embrace the Monastic State. His Majesty represented to him the Difficulties attending upon a young Person, who should enter into such an Engagement: That he ought to consider well of it before hand, and then send him his Resolution: But it would be much better for him to return into the Way his Majesty had pointed out to him, than to become a Monk: and to this End he gave him still six Months Time longer to consider of it: Upon which he bade him Farewel.

The six Months passed, and his Majesty received no News from the Czarewitz upon this Head; which obliged him to send him a Letter under his own Hand from *Copenhagen*, dated the 26th of *August*, commanding his immediate Presence with his Majesty in the War, or an actual Compliance with his Promise of a Monastic Vow, and a Letter specifying the Time and Place of his taking it. But the Czarewitz, in Contempt of his Majesty's Orders, pretending, when he left *Petersburg*, that he was going to attend upon his Majesty, made his Escape by the Way; and, as he was on his Journey, wrote a fraudulent Letter, falsely dated from *Konigsberg*, instead of *Lituan*, to prevent his Father from sending any Body after him, as he expressly ordered in his Constitution.

Upon the Advice which his Majesty received of his Escape at *Amsterdam*, he immediately dispatched the Resident *Wesembrogh* in quest of him; and afterwards sent Mr. *Rumantsov*, Captain of the Guard; and lastly from *Spain*, Mr. *Tolstoj*, Privy-Councillor, and Captain of the Guard, with the said Captain *Rumantsov*; by whom his Majesty wrote a Letter with his own Hand, on the 10th of *July*, 1717, in which is the following Passage: "If you comply with me, I assure you by this Present, and promise to God, and his Judgment, that I will not punish you; and if you will submit to my Will, and be obedi-

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gent to me now, upon your Return, I will love you more than I have ever done. But if not, by the Virtue of the Power I have received from God, as a Father, I lay upon you my eternal Curse, for the Contempt and Offences you have committed against your Father; and as your Sovereign, I assure you, that I shall find Means to deal with you under that Capacity, in which I hope that God will assist me, and take my just Defence in Hand."

The Czarewitz answered thus: "I have received your Majesty's most gracious Letter, by Messieurs *Tolstoi* and *Rumanzow*, in which, as also by Word of Mouth, I am most graciously assured of Pardon, for having fled without your Permission, in case I return. I give you most hearty Thanks with Tears in my Eyes, and own myself unworthy of all Favour: I throw myself at your Feet, and implore your Clemency, and beseech you to pardon my Crimes, who have deserved all kind of Punishment. But I rely upon your gracious Assurances; and submitting to your Pleasure, shall set out immediately from *Naples*, to attend your Majesty at *Petersburgh*, with those whom your Majesty has sent."

On the 3d of February, of the present Year 1718, the Czarewitz was brought to *Moscow* by Messieurs *Tolstoi* and *Rumanzow*, and carried before his Czarian Majesty, into the great Hall of the Castle, where, in the Presence of all the People, he made Confession of his voluntary Flight, and at the same Time presented a Writing under his Hand, acknowledging his Transgression, and imploring Mercy. His Majesty then told him, That it was his Will he should truly declare all the Particulars and Circumstances of his Escape; who had advised it, with whatever bore any Relation to it: That if he told the Truth without Disguise, Reserve, and Restriction, he would grant him his Pardon: But that if he did not make a full Discovery, and name all the Persons who were Accomplices of the Fact, or should conceal any Thing relating to it, the Promise should be void and of no Effect. Whereupon the Czarewitz promised and engaged to his Majesty, to declare the whole Truth, as before God, without any Dissimulation; and he kissed the Holy Gospels, and the Holy Cross before the Altar of the Cathedral, in Testimony of the Promise he had made of a full Discovery. [Here

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[Here followed the several Heads of Examination, written by his Majesty, and presented to the Czarewitz, with that Prince's Answer to every Article, and several additional Confessions, drawn from him one after another, as Evidence against him appeared; by which it was manifest, that he had endeavoured to conceal the most material Particulars: Also the Depositions of the several Witnesses against him, among whom was his own Mistress *Astrosini*, with whom he was confronted; proving the several Crimes charged upon him by his Majesty, and detecting divers Circumstances that were not before known, which confirmed the Hypocrisy and Pervarication, as well as Guilt, of the Czarewitz, who himself confessed, in his last Answer, that he had criminal Designs, which he meant to execute, even during his Father's Life-time, if Occasion offered. But as the Reflections upon these Pieces, which were afterwards read in their Order, contain a Representation of what was most considerable in the whole Process, I shall content myself with inserting them, and proceed to the Judgment of the Court.]

THE better to comprehend the Care his Czarian Majesty has taken to bring back the Czarewitz into the right Way, that he might engage him to become worthy of the Succession; and to let the Publick see how the Czarewitz, on the other Hand, has broke through all his Father's Measures, by the Opposition he has made to them; we shall set the Matter in a still greater Light, tho' it may be amply deduced from the several Pieces.

'Tis notorious, by the first Manifesto which was published upon the Arrival of the Czarewitz at *Moscow*, and by the Letters his Majesty wrote to him, with what reiterated Solicitations his Majesty, his Father, exhorted him to make himself capable and deserving of the Succession; and yet, notwithstanding, the Czarewitz always shewed himself refractory. In his Reply to the Letter which his Czarian Majesty had written to him, he did not tell him the Reasons why he would not take Pains, as his Father desired, to make himself capable of the Succession: He only deceived him with false Oaths, by which he engaged himself to a Renunciation of the Crown, and which he afterwards not only broke, but aspired to the Succession by ill Practices.

His Czarish Majesty, who saw into the naughty Inclinations of his Son, again exhorted him, by other Letters, to form himself for the Government; and represented to him, to intimidate and engage him to a Compliance with his Will, that if this was absolutely impossible for him, he should then embrace a Monastic State. He plainly saw that the Czarewitz's Renunciation of the Succession was no more than an Amusement, and altogether void of Sincerity, as afterwards appeared plainly by the Consequence: For he was so far from giving a clear and positive Answer to his Czarian Majesty's Letter, who exhorted him to a Determination, that he had still Recourse to Subterfuges, and answered only in a vague and undetermined Manner, by Oaths and Intreaties, that he might be allowed immediately to retire into a Convent; which, notwithstanding, were altogether fraudulent.

For which Reason his Majesty advised him, upon his Departure from *Petersburgh* into foreign Countries, not to enter so soon into a Convent, because the Engagement was difficult for a young Man to observe, and gave him still six Months Time to consider of it; at the End of which he was to write to his Majesty what Part he would take. He used him thus, in hopes that he might change his Opinion, and, by a better Conduct, conform to the Will of his Father, and make himself deserving of the Succession, by a serious Application to his Duty.

The Czarewitz, not caring to answer any Thing at that Time upon this Subject to his Father, pretended to be sick; but his Majesty was scarce gone from him, before he went to an Entertainment with *Michel Voïna*. The six Months passed, and the Czarewitz took no Notice of the Choice he was to make. His Majesty, who saw his Deceit, wrote to him again from *Copenhagen*, to repeat his Exhortations concerning the Succession; and ordered him to come to him, that he might learn the Business of War; but that if he desired to retire into a Convent, he required that he would make Choice of his Monastery, fix the Time of his Retirement, and write Word back to his Majesty, who would neither prescribe the Time, nor assign the Place. It evidently appears by his Majesty's three Letters, that he earnestly wished he

he would make himself capable of the Succession: That he had no Inclination to force him to become a Monk, but, on the contrary, was desirous to dissuade him from it, and left his Choice to his own free Determination. The Czarewitz seemingly made Choice of a Convent of his own proper Motion: However, all his Promises, which were confirmed by so many Oaths, were found deceitful. For it has actually appeared, that the Czarewitz aimed at the Succession, of which his Majesty had not only deprived him, but also forced him, by his powerful Exhortations, to pretend to it, by labouring to make himself worthy of it.

But in Contempt of all this, the Czarewitz made his Escape, and took Refuge with the Emperor, demanding his Assistance and Protection, to aid him even with an armed Hand; and he has said that the Emperor had assured him by the Count *de Schonborn*, Vice-Chancellor, that he would procure him the *Russian Crown*, not only by good Offices, but also by Force of Arms; insomuch, that the Czarewitz not only hoped for his Father's Death with Expressions of Joy, but also sought it; and when he was told there was a Rebellion raised in the Country, he declared his Satisfaction at the News, and was resolved to join the Rebels if they had called him, whether his Father was living or dead.

One might convict him from his own Confession. That when he wrote in his Answer, which he gave to his Father, that his Infirmary was so great he did not desire the Succession, he told him a manifest Falshood. He took Physick only to appear sick, if Mention was made of any Journey he did not care to take, as his Father desired; when in reality he was perfectly well. Insomuch that we may judge by all these Circumstances, that he aimed at the Succession, not in the Manner his Father was desirous to leave it him, namely in the proper Order, but after his own Manner, by foreign Assurances, or the Forces of Rebels, even whilst his Father was alive.

Tho' the Czarewitz has said in his last Confession, that his not having owned his Letter from *Naples*, to the Metropolitan of *Kiovia*, was to be imputed to his Forgetfulness, this also has been found to be absolutely false.

For since he has remembered the Particulars in Matters of far less Consequence, which were the Subject of his Discourtesy with several People some Years ago, as appears by his Examination, how could he have forgot this Circumstance of having wrote to the Archbishops, which is a Point of far greater Importance?

There appears in this Excuse of Forgetfulness not only a direct Falshood, but also a very malicious Disposition; for when *Afresini* had maintained to his Face that he had writ to the Archbishop from the Fortrefs, and had sealed the Letter in her Presence, he had a Mind to conceal the Business, by the Pretence of a Plan of the Attack of *Belgrade*, which he sent back sealed to the Secretary of the Viceroy of *Naples*: However, he afterwards owned that it was not the Plan, but the Letter to the Archbishop of *Kiovia*, which he had sealed. The Excuse he also made, of having forgot to own in his first Confession, what concerns the *Czarewna*, *Mary Alexiewna*, *Dubrowski*, and *Ebarlakof*, who were acquainted with his Escape, was also a Falshood, as appears from his having afterwards declared he had Compassion upon the *Czarewna*. It also appears by the Report of the Resident *Weselowski* at *Vienna*, that the Imperialists did not force the *Czarewitz* to write Letters to the Senate and the Archbishops.

His Czarian Majesty, in his Letters to the *Czarewitz* at *Naples*, promised him only his gracious Pardon for his Escape, if he would return to him. He not only pardoned him upon his Return, but also extended his Favour so far, as to promise him a general Forgiveness for all he had committed, if he would make a sincere Confession of all he had done, and discover his Accomplices without any Reserve; declaring to him at the same Time, that if he kept back any Thing, or concealed any Person who was an Accomplice in this Affair, his Pardon should be null and void. Yet we have clearly seen, in what Manner the *Czarewitz*, contemning the paternal Clemency and Pardon he had obtained, concealed a great Number of Persons, Letters, and Facts, as also his pernicious Designs of joining the Rebels, and entering into their Devices. 'Tis therefore evident, that he has not only had no real Intention of discovering all his

his Crimes, and making amends by a sincere Repentance, but that he has also disguised and concealed what had passed, that he might be able to resume again his Designs for the future, and renew what hitherto he has not been able to effect.

As they were reading the Matters above related, his Majesty again verbally examined the *Czarewitz* touching all his Crimes that were proved in those Pieces, and how every Thing had passed; and, after a great many Questions upon the Points of most Importance, of which his Majesty shewed him the Proofs for his Conviction, the *Czarewitz* confessed before the whole Assembly of the States, to his Father and Lord, that he was guilty of all that was found in the Writings which had been related.

The Audience being ended, and the *Czarewitz* carried back, his Majesty caused an Ordinance to be issued out to the Archbishops and Secular States, which he had signed with his own Hand; commanding them to search the Holy Scriptures, the Civil and Military Laws, relating to the present Case, and pronounce Sentence against the *Czarewitz* in Conformity thereto. And on the 16th of *June*, *Peter Tolsi* Privy-Councillor declared, by Order of his Majesty, to the Ministers, the Senate, and the States Military and Civil, That as he had put into their Hands the Trial of his Son *Alexis Petrowitz*, that they might pronounce Judgment upon it, he willed that it should be done in the ordinary Form, and with all due Examination: For which Reason his Majesty authorized them to examine the *Czarewitz*, if they found it convenient, upon any Point whatsoever; to make him appear before them, and put such Questions to him as should be necessary.

Upon this express Order of his Majesty, the Ministers, the Senate, and the States who were assembled, convened to interrogate the *Czarewitz* upon several Points; who being summoned to appear before the Tribunal of the Judges, in the Hall of the Regency of the Senate, and Declaration having been made of the Orders they had received from his Majesty; he was told, that tho' they were very much afflicted at his late Conduct, they were notwithstanding obliged to obey their Orders; and, with-

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out having regard to his Person, to question him upon the said Articles, which they read to him, requiring of him an Answer thereto, by a true Confession, attended with sufficient Proofs. The Czarewitz accordingly gave in his Answer the 17th of *June*; owning, that he had founded his Hopes of getting the Crown upon those who were affected to the ancient Customs, and the Discourse of several Persons, particularly his Confessor *James, Nicephorus Vassenski*, the Czarewitz of *Siberia, Dubrofski*, and *John Assonassief*, who assured him that he was beloved by the People; with other Particulars.

After these Pieces were read in Presence of the Ministers, the Senators, and the States assembled, they ordered, that suitable Authorities should be sought out of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, the Constitutions of the Empire, and the Military Laws, which might be applied to the present Case, to judge what Punishments these Transgressions had deserved. Which being done, it was resolved with one Consent, before the Sentence was pronounced, that the Ministers and Senate should call the Judges appointed for this Tribunal, one after another, and hear every Man's Opinion from his own Mouth. The Ministers in like Manner declared each their Sentiment; which, tho' separately given, amounted unanimously to one and the same Judgment; declaring by Oath, and upon their Conscience, that according to the Laws Divine, Civil, and Military, the Czarewitz was worthy of Death, for the Crimes alleged and proved against him.

On the 21st of *June*, his Czarian Majesty ordered the Senators, by the Privy-Councillor *Peter Tolsioi*, to come into the Hall; where, being assembled, the said Privy-Councillor laid before them certain Considerations, presented to his Czarian Majesty by the Clergy, and which they had extracted from the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Ecclesiastical Constitutions, by all which they found the Czarewitz worthy of Death, but referred the Judgment to the Secular Power, as what did not belong to their Spiritual Authority.

On the 24th of *June*, the Ministers and Senators being assembled in the Chancery of the Senate, the Privy-Councillor *Peter Tolsioi* laid before them another De-

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claration of the Czarewitz, in Confirmation of his Confessions of the 19th of *June*; as also the criminal Examination of his Confessor *James*, who was degraded from the Ecclesiastical Dignity; and the Copy of some Interrogatories written by the Hand of his Czarian Majesty, and delivered to the said *M. Tolsioi*, for the Examination of the Czarewitz; which, with that Prince's Answer, written in his own Hand, are as follow:

GO to my Son in the Afternoon, and put down in Writing the Answers he shall give to the following Questions:

I. What is the Reason why he has not obeyed me, and refused to do what I required of him, or apply himself to any Business, contrary to the Practice of the World, besides the Sin and Shame attending upon it?

II. Whence is it that he has been so little afraid of me, and has not apprehended the Consequences of his Disobedience?

III. Why did he desire to have the Succession otherwise than by Obedience, as I have formerly asked him myself? And examine him upon every Thing else, that bears any Relation to this Affair.

Answer of the Czarewitz, dated June 22d.

TH O' I was not ignorant, that to be disobedient, as I was, to my Father, was opposite to the Practice of Mankind, and was also both a Sin and a Shame; yet this arose from my having been brought up from my Infancy with a Governess and her Maids, from whom I learned nothing but Amusements, and Diversions, and Bigotry, to which I had naturally an Inclination. The Persons to whom I was intrusted, after I was removed from my Governess, gave me no better Instructions, particularly *Nicephorus Vassenski, Alexis Basili*, and the *Naraskins*.

My Father being careful of my Education, and desirous I should apply myself to what became the Son of the Czar, ordered me to learn the *German Tongue*, and other Sciences; which I was very much averse to. I applied myself to them in a very negligent Manner, and only to pass away the Time, without having an Inclination

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tion to learn any Thing. And as my Father, who was then frequently with the Army, was at a Distance from me, he ordered Prince *Menzikoff* to have an Eye upon me. Whilst I was with him, I was obliged to apply; but as soon as I was out of his Sight, the *Narajkins* and *Kalenjski*, observing my Inclination was only bent to Bigotry and Idleness, to keep Company with Priests and Monks, and drink with them, they not only diverted me from Business, but took a Pleasure in doing as I did. As they had been about me from my Infancy, I was accustomed to observe their Directions, to fear them, and comply with them in every Thing; and thus by Degrees they alienated my Affections from my Father, by diverting me with Pleasures of this Nature; so that by little and little, I had not only the military Affairs, and other Actions of my Father in Horror, but also his Person itself, which has always made me wish to be at a Distance from him.

When I found myself entrusted at *Moscow* with the Government of the Empire, finding I was at full Liberty and Master of myself; instead of considering, that my Father had put it into my Hands to train me up, and form me for the Succession after him, if I would make myself capable of it; I gave myself up still to the Pleasures I was addicted to, with the Priests and Monks, and other People of that Temper. *Alexander Kikin*, when he was with me, constantly took a great deal of Pains to confirm me in this disorderly Way of Life.

My Father having Compassion on me, and desiring to make me worthy of the State to which I was called, sent me into foreign Countries; but as I was already grown to Man's Estate, I made no Alteration in my Way of Living. It is true indeed, my Travels were in some Respects useful to me, but were insufficient to erase the vicious Habits which had taken such deep Root in me.

II. It was this naughty Disposition which prevented my being apprehensive of my Father's Correction for my Disobedience; I freely owned it; for tho' I was really afraid of him, yet it was not with a filial Fear; I only sought for Means to get from him, and was no wise concerned to do his Will, of which I here give you a plain Instance.

When

When I came back to *Petersburgh*, to my Father from abroad, he received me in a very gracious Manner; Amongst other Things, he asked me, whether I had not forgot what I had learned, and I told him, No. He ordered me to bring him my Draughts; and fearing that he would make me design in his Presence, as I knew nothing of the Matter, I studied how to hurt my Hand, so that it should be impossible for me to do any Thing at all: I charged a Pistol with Ball, and taking it in my Left Hand, I let it off against the Palm of my Right, with a Design to have shot through it. The Ball missed my Hand, but the Powder burnt it sufficiently to wound it. As the Ball entered the Wall of my Closet, it may be seen there still. My Father observing my Hand to be wounded, asked me how it came. I told him an evasive Story, and kept the Truth to myself. By this Means you may see that I was afraid of my Father, but not with a filial Fear.

III. As to my having desired the Succession, otherwise than by Obedience, all the World may easily guess at the Reason: For when I was once out of the good Way, and was resolved to imitate my Father in nothing, I sought to obtain the Succession by any the most wrongful Method: I was even desirous to come at it by a foreign Assistance, and if I had got it, and the Emperor would have put in Execution what he promised me, of procuring for me the Crown of *Russia*, even with an armed Force, I should have spared nothing to have obtained it. For Instance, if the Emperor had demanded *Russian* Troops in Exchange for his Service, against any of his Enemies, or large Sums of Money, I should have done whatever he pleased, and given great Presents to his Ministers and Generals over and above. I would have entertained at my own Expence the auxiliary Troops he should have lent me, to put me in Possession of the Crown of *Russia*; and, in a Word, have thought nothing too much to have obtained my Desire."

The Persons appointed by his Czarian Majesty, being assembled in the Hall to give Judgment, after having heard all that has been said, read, and related, and made mature Reflections upon it, with one unanimous Consent,

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pronounced and ordered the following Sentence to be signed; and accordingly set their Seals to it with their own Hands.

June 24th. 1718.

BY Virtue of the express Ordinance of his Czarian Majesty, signed with his own Hand, on the 13th of June last, for the Judgment of the Czarewitz *Alexis Petrowitz*, for his Transgressions and Crimes against his Father and Lord; the under-written Ministers, Senators, States Military and Civil, after having heard the Originals and Extracts of the Testimonies given against him, more than once read, as also his Majesty's Letters of Exhortation to the Czarewitz, and the Answers he made to them, written with his own Hand, and other Accounts belonging to the Process: And, in like Manner, the criminal Informations, Confessions, and Declarations of the Czarewitz, as well written by his own Hand, as made by Word of Mouth to his Father and Lord, and before the Persons under-written: Have declared and acknowledged, that tho', according to the Rights of the *Russian* Empire, it has never belonged to them, being naturally Subjects to his Czarian Majesty, to take Cognizance of an Affair of this Nature, which depends solely upon the absolute Will of the sovereign, whose Power is not limited by any Law; yet submitting to the said Ordinance of his Czarian Majesty, their Sovereign, who grants them this Liberty, and after mature Reflections, and upon their Conscience as Christians, without Fear or Flattery, or Respect of Persons, having only before their Eyes the Divine Laws that are applicable to the present Case, the Canons and Decrees of Councils, the Authority of the Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church; and farther, being instructed by the Considerations of the Archbishops and Clergy, assembled at *Petersburgh*, which correspond with the Laws of all *Russia*, and particularly the Constitutions of this Empire, the Military Laws and Statutes, and are agreeable to the Laws of several other Nations: The Persons under-written, having consulted together, have unanimously agreed, without Contradiction, that the Czarewitz, *Alexis Petrowitz*, is worthy of Death, for his aforesaid Crimes against his Sovereign and Father,

ther, he being the Son and Subject of his Czarian Majesty; insomuch, that tho' his Czarian Majesty has promised to the Czarewitz, in the Letter he sent him by *M. Tolstoi*, Privy-Councillor, and *Rumanzov*, Captain of the Guard, to pardon his Escape if he freely and voluntarily returned, as the Czarewitz himself has thankfully acknowledged in his Answer to this Letter, where he has specified, that he thanked his Czarian Majesty for the Pardon which he had only given for his voluntary Flight; yet has he since rendered himself unworthy of it, by his Opposition to the Will of his Father, and by his other Transgressions, which he has renewed and continued, and because, among other Things, he did not voluntarily return.

And tho' his Majesty, upon the Arrival of the Czarewitz at *Moscow*, where he delivered in a Confession of his Crimes in Writing, and asked Pardon for them, had pity of him, and at the Audience he gave him on the said third Day of *February*, promised him Pardon for all his Transgressions; his Czarian Majesty only made him this Promise with an express Condition, That he, the Czarewitz, should declare without any Restriction, or Reserve, all that he had committed and contrived till that Day against his Czarian Majesty, and discover all the Persons who had been his Counsellors and Accomplices, and in general, all who had been acquainted with his underhand Dealings; but that if he concealed any Person or Thing, the promised Pardon should be null and void: Which Condition the Czarewitz then accepted, at least in Appearance, with Tears of Acknowledgment, and promised by Oath to declare all without Reserve. His Czarian Majesty also confirmed the same Things to him the next Day, under his own Hand, in the Interrogatories which he caused to be given to him.

Notwithstanding this, the Czarewitz returned very insincere Answers and Confessions; concealed not only Persons, but also Affairs of Consequence, and grievous Transgressions; and particularly his Designs of Rebellion against his Father and Lord, and his ill Practices, in attempting to usurp the Throne of his Father, during his Life, by several wicked Pretexes; founding his Hopes and Wishes, for the Death of his Father and Lord, upon
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the Declaration of the common People in his Favour, which he flattered himself with. All which has since been discovered by criminal Informations, after he had refused to declare it of himself.

Thus it is evident, by all these Proceedings of the Czarewitz, and the Declarations he has made by Word and Writing, and lastly by that of the 22d of *June*, of the present Year, that he was not pleased the Succession of the Crown should devolve to him by his Father's Death, in such a Manner as his Father would have left it him, according to the Order of Equity; but that he desired it, and had a Design to obtain it, even during the Life-time of his Lord and Father, contrary to the Will of his Czarian Majesty; and not only by Insurrection and Rebellion, which he expected, but also by the Assistance of the Emperor, with a foreign Force, which he had flattered himself to have at his own Disposal, even at the certain Hazard of the Kingdom's Ruin, and the Alienation of every Thing from the State, that would have been demanded of him for that Assistance.

From hence therefore it appears, that the Czarewitz, by concealing all his pernicious Designs, and Abundance of Persons who held Intelligence with him, had determined to reserve to himself an Opportunity hereafter, when a favourable Occasion should present itself, of resuming his Designs, and putting in Execution his horrible Enterprizes; and has hereby rendered himself unworthy of the Clemency and Pardon which were promised him by his Lord and Father; as he has also owned himself, as well before his Czarian Majesty, as in Presence of all the States, Ecclesiastical and Civil, and publicly before the whole Assembly.

Since therefore the aforesaid Laws, Divine and Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, and particularly the two last, condemn to Death, without Mercy, not only those whose Attempts against their Lord and Father have been declared by Evidence, or proved by Writing, but even those who have conspired only in Thought to rebel, or have had a bare Intention against the Life of the Sovereign, to usurp his Empire: What may we think of a Design of Rebellion, which has hardly had a Parallel in the World, and is joined to an horrid double Parricide against

against his Sovereign, first as the Father of his Country, and next as his own Father by Nature? A Father in himself most merciful; who has brought up the Czarewitz from his Cradle with a more than paternal Care, with a Tenderness and Affection which have shewn themselves upon all Occasions; who has endeavoured to form him for the Government, and instruct him in the Military Art, with incredible Pains, that he might render him capable and worthy of the Succession to so great an Empire.

It is with an Heart full of Affliction, and Eyes streaming down with Tears, that we, as Subjects and Servants, pronounce this Sentence; considering that it does not belong to us, as such, to enter into a Judgment of so great an Importance, and particularly to pronounce a Sentence against the Son of the most mighty and merciful Czar, our Lord. However, it being his Will that we should enter into Judgment, we declare by these Presents our real Opinion, and pronounce this Condemnation, with a Conscience as pure and christian, as we think we can answer it at the terrible, just, and impartial Judgment of the Great God.

To conclude: We submit this Sentence we now give, and the Condemnation we at present make, to the Sovereign Power, and Will, and merciful Review of his Czarian Majesty, our most merciful Monarch.

Signed ALEXANDER MENZIKOFF,
and above one hundred and twenty more.

The Assembly of the Clergy, and the Court of secular Judges, having thus declared their Opinion in Writing, and pronounced a formal Sentence, condemning the Czarewitz to Death, a new Session was held on the 6th of *July* in the Morning, and the Czarewitz brought out of the Fortrefs into Court, under Guard, where he was obliged to repeat the Confession of his Crimes, and to hear the Sentence of Death signed by the Secular Judges read to him; after which he was sent back into Custody.

The next Day, being *Thursday* the 7th of *July*, early in the Morning, News was brought to the Czar, that the violent Passions of his Mind, and the Terrors of Death, had thrown the Czarewitz into an
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Apoplectic Fit. About Noon another Messenger brought Advice, that the Prince was in great Danger of his Life: Whereupon the Czar sent for the principal Persons of his Court, and caused them to stay, till he was informed by a third Messenger, that the Prince, being past Hopes, could not out-live the Evening; and that he longed to see his Father. Then the Czar, attended by the forefaid Company, went to see his dying Son, who, at the Sight of his Father, burst into Tears, and, with his Hands folded, spoke to him to this Effect:—That he had grievously and heinously offended the Majesty of God Almighty, and of the Czar; that he hoped not to recover of this Indisposition, and even if he should, yet he was unworthy of Life; therefore he begged his Majesty, for God's Sake, only to take from him the Curse he had laid upon him at *Moscow*: to forgive him all his heavy Crimes; to impart to him his paternal Blessing; and to cause Prayers to be put up for his Soul. During these moving Words, the Czar and the whole Company almost melted away in Tears. His Majesty returned a patherick Answer, and represented to him in a few Words all the Offences he had committed against him; and then gave him his Forgiveness and Blessing. After which they parted, with abundance of Tears and Lamentations on both Sides.

At 5 in the Evening came a 4th Messenger, to acquaint the Czar, that the Czarowitz was extremely desirous once more to see his Father. The Czar at first was unwilling to comply with his Son's Request; but was at last persuaded by the Company, who represented to his Majesty, how hard it would be to deny that Comfort to a Son, who, being on the Point of Death, might probably be tortured by the Stings of a guilty Conscience. But when his Majesty had just stepped into his Sloop to go over to the Fortress, a 5th Messenger brought an Account, that the Prince was already expired.

The very next Day, his Czarish Majesty caused the following circular Letter to be sent to his Minister abroad, in order to prevent the false Reports which might be spread about this tragical Event.

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WE have let you know, by our Rescript of the 26th of the last Month, the criminal Steps which our Son *Alexis* has taken with regard to us; and that we had submitted all that to the Consideration of the Clergy, and to the Judgment of our Council, the Senate, and the States Military and Civil: Who having, according to our Will, maturely examined and weighed this Affair, they have discovered more, and other Circumstances and Letters, by which it clearly appears, that he had entertained Designs of Revolting against us, and to make himself Master of our Throne during our Life, which is what he has publickly confessed before us, after he had been convicted: So that our faithful Ecclesiastical Subjects have presented to us their Thoughts, whereby they have acknowledged, that according to the Divine Law, and the Canons of the Church, he is guilty of Death. And the said secular Judges established by us, after having sincerely examined and weighed the L enormity of the Crimes of our said Son, pronounced Sentence by Mouth and by Writing, that according to all Laws Divine and Human, our said Son had incurred the Penalty of Death, submitting for the rest the Decision to our arbitrary Power, and to our Clemency: Which said Sentence was notified to him by our Order. And while we were debating in our Mind between the natural Motions of paternal Clemency on one Side, and the Regard we ought to pay to the Preservation and future Security of our Kingdoms on the other, it pleased the Almighty God, by his particular Will, and by his just Judgment, and by his Mercy, to deliver us out of that Embarrassment, and to save our Family and Kingdom from Shame and Danger, by abridging Yesterday the Life of our said Son *Alexis*, after an Illness which he fell into as soon as he had heard the Sentence of Death pronounced against him. That Illness appeared at first like an Apoplexy; but he afterwards recovered his Senses, and received the Holy Sacraments as a Christian; and having desired to see us, we went to him immediately, with all our Councillors and Senators; and then he acknowledged and sincerely confessed all his said Crimes committed against us, with Tears, and with all the

the Marks of a true Penitent, and begged our Pardon, which, according to Christian and Paternal Duty, we granted him: After which, on the 7th of July at 6 in the Evening, he surrendered his Soul to God. Although this be a great Affliction to us, we nevertheless judge it has happened by the particular Providence of God, for the Good and Repose of our Kingdoms; so that it is with a Christian Duty and Submission we receive this Affliction from the Hand of God, &c.

On the 9th of July the Corpse of the Czarewitz, being laid into a Coffin covered with black Velvet, and a Pall of Gold Tissue spread over it, was carried from the Fortrefs, attended by several Persons of the first Rank, to the Church of the *Holy Trinity*, where it was laid in State. Four Officers of the Guards were in waiting near the Body, and gave Leave to a vast Number of People to kiss the Hands of the Deceased. The Preparations for the Funeral being finished, on the 11th in the Evening, the Corpse was carried from the Church of the *Holy Trinity* back to the Fortrefs, where it was deposited in the new Burying-Vault of the Czarish Family, and put next to the Coffin of the Prince's late Consort. The Czar, the Czarina, and the Chiefs of the Nobility of the Court, followed in Procession. The Czar, as well as the rest of the Mourners, carried each a small Wax Taper lighted in their Hands; but they wore no Mourning-Cloaks, and the Ladies were only dressed in black Silks. Those who assisted at the Funeral, relate that the Czar was bathed in Tears during the Procession, and the Service at Church, where the Priest had chose for the Text of his Funeral Sermon the Words of *David*: *O my Son Absalom, my Son, my Son Absalom.*

Various Reports were spread concerning the Death of the Czarewitz, very many not believing that he died a natural Death. Some reported, that he was obliged to take a poisoned Draught in his Prison; and others went so far as to charge his Majesty with the Cruelty of whipping him to Death with his own Hands. But sure the great Caution with which he proceeded against him, and the many Instances he gave of his paternal Affection towards

wards him, are sufficient to shew the Improbability of his treating him with such Inhumanity, notwithstanding he had conspired against his Life, and, what was dearer to him, his Country.

The Czar thought it not improper to silence any injurious Reports concerning this Event; and accordingly, complained at the Court of *Vienna* of the Imperial Resident at *Petersburgh*, for having wrote false Advices relating to the Differences in his Family, and the pretended Revolt of his Troops in *Mecklenbourg*; and desired the Emperor, that the Resident might be recalled. He made Instance, at the same Time, by his Minister at *Vienna*, that the Letter wrote by the late Czarewitz to his Imperial Majesty, wherein he complains of his Father, and calls him Tyrant, might be communicated; but this was declined by the Imperial Court. His Czarish Majesty likewise, having received Information that the *Sieur de Bie*, Resident of the States General at his Court, had given wrong Advices of the Affairs of *Muscovy*, he caused that Minister to be examined, and his Papers seized. The Proceedings in which Affair were fully set forth in a Memorial, presented on that Occasion to the States. Their High Mightinesses answered it with great Submission, acknowledging the Fault of their Minister, and leaving it in his Majesty's Breast either to let him continue or not in that Quality.

In Justification of these Proceedings of the Czar to stifle the Rumours of the Publick, and his going so far as to infringe the Law of Nations on that Account, we are to consider how tender an Affair this was, and how much more it concerned him to vindicate his Conduct with regard to a Son and Heir to his Crown, than any other Subject. It will not be necessary to enter into a particular Detail of all the Proceedings against every Accomplice in this Conspiracy; but the Discovery being made by Steps, at length appeared a large and frightful List of those who had engaged in the horrid Design of destroying the great *Peter*, and in an Instant overthrowing the glorious Labours of his whole Reign. Persons were embarked in it of all Degrees, of every Age and Sex; and the Czar gave them all up to the Severity of the Law.

Some were racked, some beheaded, others hanged, and many were impaled alive. Those who were not condemned to Death, received the *Knout* and the *Batoags*; and not a few were banished into *Siberia* for the miserable Remainder of their Days. Prince *Dolgoruki* having been deprived of the Order of the Elephant, it was remitted back to the Court of *Denmark*, and he himself sent into Exile to *Casan*. But before he departed, he obtained an Audience from the Czarina to take his Leave of her, and endeavoured, in a very moving Speech, to justify himself from the Crimes laid to his Charge; and at the same time told her, he had nothing left in the World but the Clothes upon his Back. Her Majesty gave him a favourable Hearing, and afterwards sent him a Present of 200 Ducats. He left *Petersburgh* in a shabby black Coat, with a long Beard, and every Way in a mean Condition, to end his Days on the Estate of the rich *Stroginof* near *Casan*; from which Province, about the same Time, returned *Renchild* the *Swedish* General, after having been 9 Years a Prisoner of War, since the famous Battle of *Pultowa*. He was conducted to *Abo* in *Finland*, there to be exchanged for the two *Russian* Generals, *Golowin* and *Trubetskoy*, taken Prisoners in the Battle of *Narva*, in the Year 1702. As to the divorced Czarina, Mother of the unhappy *Czarewicz*, and the Princess *Mary Alexeevna*, his Majesty's half Sister, they were both closely confined; the first in the Castle of *Stentelbourg*, where no one was permitted to speak to her, and even her Food was conveyed thro' a Hole in the Wall; and the other was shut up in a Monastery, on the Banks of the Lake *Ladoga*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Negotiations at Aland. Death of the King of Sweden, and Execution of Baron Gortz. King of Poland enters into a Treaty with the Emperor and the King of Great Britain. Alterations in the North by the King of Sweden's Death. Sir John Norris arrives in the Baltick. The Czar makes a Descent into Sweden. Expostulates with the King of Great Britain. Banishes the Jesuits. Sets up Assemblies at Petersburg. Falls ill, and recovers.

HIS Czarish Majesty had now Leisure to regard his foreign Affairs, and to attend to the Conferences of his Ministers with those of *Sweden*, which, as was said before, had been transferred to the Island of *Aland*, where the King of *Sweden* had ordered commodious Apartments for the Plenipotentiaries. Baron *Gortz*, leaving Count *Gyllenbourg* here, went to the King to know his last Intentions, and returned to *Aland* in *August*, 1718. The Czar was then with his Fleet at *Hangö*, from whence he went to *Abo*, to be nearer to the Negotiations. The Ministers of the Northern Allies, who had followed him to *Revel*, were obliged to remain there; only Baron *Mardefeld*, the *Prussian* Envoy, was permitted to go to *Abo*. All the Instances made by their *Britannick*, *Danish*, and *Polish* Majesties Ministers, for obtaining the same Permission, were in vain.

It was agreed that Baron *Gortz* should return once more to his Master, to procure his Approbation of the Plans of Peace prepared at *Aland*. For this Purpose he departed at the End of *September*, and the Conferences were in the mean Time continued with Count *Gyllenbourg*. The main Point which the Czar had in View, was to keep not only *Ingria*, and Part of *Carelia*, but also *Revel* with *Esthonia*, and *Riga* with *Livonia*. Baron *Gortz*, it seems, flattered the Czar that the King of *Sweden* would consent to those Cessions, in Consideration of the Succours which his Czarish Majesty was to furnish to that King, as well for re-establishing *Stanislaus* on the Throne of *Poland*, as for retaking from the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Denmark* what they had

taken from the Crown of *Sweden*. As to the King of *Prussia*, he was to be included in the Treaty. But the Czar, the better to make his own Terms, engaged to prevail upon his *Prussian* Majesty to restore *Stetin*, with its District, for an Equivalent to be given him somewhere else. The Plans concerted between Baron *Gortz* and *M. Osterman*, for these several Purposes, were found among the Papers of the Baron, after his tragical Death. Those Pieces plainly shew, that a Design was formed to conquer *Norway*. The Czar was obliged to assist his *Swedish* Majesty, by Force of Arms, in that Expedition; and the two contracting Parties promised to unite all their Forces against *Great Britain*, if it should intermeddle; which seemed to have a View to the Interest of the Pretender, and a Design of attempting an Invasion in *Scotland* in his Favour, after the Conquest of *Norway*.

The fore-mentioned Plans seemed to be framed by the *Muscovite* Court: For it is certain, that the King of *Sweden* was resolved to insist on the Restitution of *Livonia* and *Esthonia*, and was very far from being willing to yield up *Revel*. But the Czar, who had a Mind to keep all his Conquests, except *Finland*, caused the said Plans to be drawn up to his own Liking, and then gave them in Trust to Baron *Gortz*, in Hopes that the powerful Assistance which he offered to the King of *Sweden*, would prevail with him to consent to these extraordinary Cessions: And it was known that Baron *Gortz* gave the *Russian* Plenipotentiaries to understand, that he was not without Hopes of persuading his *Swedish* Majesty to accept the Plans, which he was carrying to him from the Czar.

While these Projects were in Agitation, the Czar's Resident at *London* continued to propose Plans of Operation against *Sweden*, and to profess his Czarish Majesty's Desire of living in Friendship with the King of *Great Britain*; which Protections were the Cause of sending the Resident *Jefferyes* to *Petersburgh*. He set out from *London* in *October*. Admiral *Norris*, who was still in the *Baltick* with his Squadron, had Orders to go with Mr. *Jefferyes* to the Czar's Court: But when the Resident arrived at *Copenhagen*, on the 11th of *November*, he found that Admiral *Norris* had sailed with his Fleet

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some Days before towards *England*, which obliged him to continue his Journey alone to *Petersburgh*, where he did not arrive before the 15th of *January*, 1719.

His Instructions were, to make the most obliging Return to the Advances made by the Resident *Wessilowski*, and to declare that, as to the Plans of Operation, they chiefly regarded the Crown of *Denmark*, seeing it lay most exposed, and was threatened with an Invasion in *Norway*. However, the Resident was to intimate, that it was not easy to concert with the Czar the Operations for pushing on the War, at the Time when he was actually negotiating with *Sweden* at *Aland*, and when all *Europe* was expecting every Moment to hear that their Peace was made. The Resident had Orders also, modestly to complain of the good Reception the *Jacobites* found at the Czar's Court, who had employed several of them in his Navy, and had lately considerably augmented their Pay, for encouraging them to stay in his Service. He was likewise to complain, that the Czar's Minister at *Paris* had done his utmost to divert the Regent from signing the *Quadruple Alliance*; and that Prince *Kurakin*, in his Station, employed the most pressing Instances to hinder the States from acceding to it, and was labouring to form Engagements between his Court and that of *Spain*.

The Czar, in the mean Time, kept exactly the Promise he had made to Baron *Gortz*, not to disturb his Matter during his Expedition against *Norway*; and having undertaken nothing in his Sea Campaign, returned to *Petersburgh* on the 15th of *September*, where he found the Czarina delivered of a Princess, who was named *Natalia*. His Majesty ordering his Vessels to *Gronsfat*, and Preparations being made to lay them up and unman them, no one doubted but the Peace was as good as concluded; yet the King of *Denmark*, who saw the Storm he was threatened with, caused the most earnest Instances to be made to the Czar for his Assistance, either by Ships or Subsidies, or by a Diversion in *Old Sweden*. But all was equally refused, and the King of *Sweden* was so well assured that the Czar would suspend all Operations, that he sent for his Battalion of Guards, and

great Part of the Garrison of *Stockholm*, to the Frontiers of *Norway*.

Baron *Gortz*, after a very short Stay at *Aland*, set out from thence to go to the King a third Time; and it was not questioned but this third Journey would give the finishing Stroke to the Peace, when all Hoped it were blasted by the Death of the King of *Sweden*, which happened in the Night between the 29th and 30th of November O. S. at *Fredericksball*, a Town of *Norway*. His Majesty had already taken the Fort of *Guldenhorn*, which would have soon made him Master of the Place, altho' bravely defended by the Governor. He went about 9 at Night to visit the Trenches, and standing with his Body exposed to a Battery of Cannon, a Ball of half a Pound struck him on the Right Temple, and made a large Hole in his Head, which lay on the Parapet, with the Left Eye beaten in, and the Right out of its Socket. Thus ended, in the 36th Year of his Age, the rapid Course of that most extraordinary Prince, *Charles XII.* whose Intrepidity in all Dangers made him perform such Exploits, as the Relation of them will hardly gain Credit with Posterity. Patience of Labour, Temperance in Living, Modesty in Success, and Liberality to his Friends, were Virtues he possessed in the highest Degree; but his Rashness and Obstinacy were Failings that cost his own Country as much, or more, than his Enemies. If he had been more prudent and less implacable, he might not perhaps have been cut off in the Flower of his Age, but have lived a happy, as well as glorious Monarch.

The Death of *Charles* entirely changed the Face of Affairs in the North. Baron *Gortz*, who was not yet informed of the King's Death, was arrested as he was going to seek him at the Siege of *Fredericksball*. He had drawn upon himself the Hatred of all the Nation, by the pernicious Counsel he had given their King, and by the Haughtiness with which he had treated the Nobles; to whose Repentment he now fell a Sacrifice, being condemned by them to the Scaffold, where he died with great Resolution. The Sentence pronounced on him was, to be beheaded by the common Hangman, and to have his Corpse buried under the Gallows. Having

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heard this Sentence with great Composure, he said he had prepared for Death for several Days, but had not expected the last Part of his Sentence, which he thought too hard. A little before his Execution he made his own Epitaph, in these Words: *Mors Regis, Fides in Regem, est Mors mea. The King's Death, and my Loyalty to him, are the Occasions of my Death.* Several Persons who were in the Confidence of *Gortz*, were likewise arrested, and an Officer was dispatched at the same Time to *Aland*, to seize on Secretary *Stambke*, and all his Papers; by which the *Muscovites* were apprised of the Death of the King of *Sweden*, and that the Army had proclaimed *Ulrica*, his Sister, Queen. This News for some Time confounded the Czar, who saw all his Projects of Conquest and Peace overthrown, which *M. Osterman* had concerted with *Gortz*; but his Disquietudes were dissipated, as soon as he reflected on the miserable Condition to which *Sweden* was reduced, and the Divisions that he thought must arise in the very Bosom of the State. However, the Re-union of Men's Minds in Favour of the new Queen, and the Resolution of the States to raise four Armies, and fit out a good Fleet, left him no Hopes, but by making a considerable Descent into the very Heart of *Sweden*; unless that Nation, intimidated by the Prospect of the Continuance of that War, should consent to receive those Laws he intended to impose upon it; and to leave a Door open for this Purpose, his Majesty signified his Desire that the Congress of *Aland* might go on.

In the mean Time several other Persons, concerned in the late *Czarewits's* Treason, were publicly executed at *Petersburgh*. *Abraham Fedorowits Lopuchin*, Brother to the late *Czarina Ottokesa*; *James Passinoi*, the *Czarewits's* Confessor; *Ivan Afanassief*, his Master of the Horse and Confident; *Dubrowski*, a Gentleman of his Court, and *Voinow*, the Steward of his Household, had their Heads cut off; and 4 others had the *Knout* given them. One had also his Tongue cut out, and his Nose cut off. The Bodies of those who had been beheaded, lay exposed for some Days in the Market-Place, and then were twisted upon Wheels. Immediately after this Execution, his Majesty went to his Council of War,

which were then sitting, to whom he made the following Speech.

My Brethren,

I Do not believe there is a Man among you, who does not know by the Light of Nature, and by the Knowledge he has acquired in the Affairs of the World, that the two first and principal Duties of him whom God has appointed to govern Kingdoms, are, to protect his Subjects against the publick Enemy, by leading in Person his Armies to Battle in Time of War; and to maintain domestick Peace among his People, by rendering speedy and impartial Justice to every one, and by punishing Offences in Persons of the most elevated Condition, as duly as in the meanest Peasant. You know what I have done from the Beginning of my Reign till now, with respect to the first of these Duties; and as to the second, I have given you a most remarkable Instance of the Power God has given me, to set aside all the Considerations in the World when Justice is to be done, and when the Safety of my People requires my doing it without Delay, and with Rigour. You have seen me punish the Crimes of a Son, who was ungrateful, an Hypocrite, perverse and ill-designing, beyond all that can be imagined, and of those who were Accomplices in his Wickedness: And I hope I have thereby secured my main Work, which is to render the *Russian Empire* for ever powerful, and all my Dominions flourishing: A Work which has cost me so much Toil, and my Subjects so much Blood, and so great Treasures, and which the first Year after my Decease would have been utterly overturned, and trampled under Foot, if I had not taken care of it in the Manner I have done. This great Affair being, by the Grace of God, concluded, it is Time I should turn my Attention to the repressing the Insolence of those who have dared to abuse the Power which I gave them to govern the Provinces of my Empire, and their Inhabitants, in the Quality of my Lieutenants; several of whom, in Violation of their Oaths, have set their Feet on the Necks of my poor People, and have enriched themselves at the Expence of their Sweat, and of their Blood. Now as the People have, in my Opinion,

nion, too well deserved, (by all they have been obliged to furnish in Recruits, in Horses, in Money, and in Provisions, to support my just Cause, against the Enemy with whom I have been 18 Years at War, and to supply my other pressing Occasions) that I should interpose for their Relief against those Blood-suckers; I have resolved to establish a Tribunal, of which my General of Foot, *Adam Adamewitz Weide*, whom I have never yet found faulty in any Thing, shall be President; the Lieutenant Generals *Butterlin* and *Schlippenbach*, the Major Generals *Galliczin* and *Jagoscinsky*, and the Brigadiers *Wolkoff* and *Ustafold*, shall be Assessors. This Tribunal shall examine strictly the Management of the Persons whose Names I shall give them, in the Administration of their Offices, and shall pronounce Sentence against those who shall be found Criminals. I hope the establishing this Tribunal, will prove a Means to restrain every one for the future within the Duties of his Employment, and to induce them to execute, in the best Manner, the Powers with which they shall be intrusted."

Prince *Menzikoff* being accused before this new Council, 1. Of having preferred his own Advantage to that of his Master, in the Government of *Ingria*; 2. Of having connived at the Commerce of contraband Goods; and 3. Of having maintained a secret Correspondence with a Minister of *Sweden*; he was found guilty, and having delivered up his Sword, went to his own House, to be there under Confinement, till his Majesty's Pleasure should be known. Prince *Dolgoruki* pleaded his own Cause with so much Eloquence, that the Judges thought fit to make Report to the Czar before they gave Sentence. The Grand Admiral *Apraxin* was found guilty of Frauds and Embezzlements in victualling and paying the Fleet; and as the Czar took from him the Order of St. Andrew, it was believed he would have been capitally punished. The Senator *Apraxin*, Brother of the Admiral, and formerly Director General of the Salt-works, was accused of converting to his own Profit, 100,000 Crowns a Year of their Produce. Several others were likewise called to Account, and found guilty. But when every Body expected that severe Punishment would be

inflicted on them, the Czar was prevailed upon, by the Remembrance of their former Services, to restore them to his Favour, on Condition of only being largely mulcted.

About this Time died Dr. *Areskin*, the Czar's first Physician. The *English Jacobites* were supposed to have lost a good Friend in this Gentleman; but it was said, that his Relation, Sir *Harry Stirling*, was well received at the Court of *Russia*, and had the Care of the Pretender's Affairs in his Stead. The Doctor, by his last Will, bequeathed all his ready Money to his Brothers and Sisters; and all his Estate to the Princess, eldest Daughter of the Czar; and to the Hospital of *Edinburgh* the Money that should arise from the Sale of his Moveables. He was interred with great Funeral Pomp, on the 4th of *January*, 1719, the Czar himself assisting in the Procession, and, according to the Custom of the Country, carrying a lighted Torch in his Hand.

On the 15th Day of the same Month, Mr. *Jefferes*, the *British* Resident, arrived at *Petersburgh*, and a few Days after had an Audience of the Czar, to whom he made a Speech in the *German* Tongue, to this Effect: "That the King of *Great Britain* had ordered him to make his Majesty the most friendly Compliments on his Part, and to acquaint him how entirely the King was satisfied with the Representations which M. *Wesselsky* had from Time to Time made in his Name. That nothing could be more acceptable to the King, than the Assurances his Czarish Majesty had given him by his said Minister, that he would explain himself in such a Manner as should demonstrate his sincere Intentions to maintain a good Understanding with him. That, for that Reason, his *Britannick* Majesty had resolved to send Sir *John Norris*, with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary, to his Czarish Majesty; but that he, Mr. *Jefferes*, had been detained so long by contrary Winds, that Sir *John Norris* was failed from the *Sound* before his Arrival at *Copenhagen*. The King being informed of this Disappointment, and being unwilling to let slip any of the Advances made by his Czarish Majesty, had sent Orders to him to continue his Journey, and to open the Instructions designed for Sir *John Norris*; pursuant to which

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Instructions, he was to return his Majesty Thanks, for the obliging Declaration he had been pleased to make at the *British* Court; and to assure his Majesty of the perfect Esteem the King his Master had for his Person, and his Desire to establish an entire Confidence, and to enter into Engagements of the most lasting Friendship with his Czarish Majesty." The Czar answered in the *Russian* Language, That he thanked his *British* Majesty for the Assurances he gave him of his Friendship; and that he would endeavour to cultivate it on his Part, to the utmost of his Power.

In the Beginning of *February*, his Czarish Majesty ordered M. *Osserman* to come to *Petersburgh* for new Instructions, and the Conferences went on between M. *Bruce* and Count *Gyllembourg*: But *Osserman* was not sent back to *Aland* till the Beginning of *April*, when the Queen of *Sweden* was come to a Resolution of naming Baron *Liliensted* to supply the Place of *Gortz* at the Congress, where he arrived in the Month of *June*. In the mean Time his Czarish Majesty, having been at *Olonitz*, to drink the Waters of that Place, by which he found much Benefit, went to *Ladoga*, situated on the Mouth of the River *Wolkofa*, which he had rebuilt: His Design in which was to have a Castle here, and a Magazine of Provisions, for the Use and Convenience of a prodigious Multitude of People, whom he had drawn from several Parts of his Empire, to cut a Canal as far as *Sienselburg*, and make a Communication between the Rivers *Wolkofa* and *Nova*, and thereby prevent the dangerous Passage of the Lake *Ladoga*, in crossing which above 100 Ships were lost every Year one with another. In this Undertaking there were employed, at this Time, about 12,000 Men, and a great many more afterwards.

His Majesty, upon his Return to *Petersburgh*, in the Beginning of *March*, being informed of a Treaty concluded between the Emperor, the King of *Great Britain* as Elector of *Hanover*, and the King of *Poland*, took it so ill of the last of those Princes, that he wrote him a very sharp expostulatory Letter on the Occasion, which he caused to be dispersed among the States of the Kingdom. *Augustus* resented this Usage so much, that it had

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Answer, he threw out severe Reproaches against the Czar, concluding with these Expressions: "Thro' the Happiness of the Times, and the Assistance of our Friends, we have now attained to that Strength, as to be able timely and courageously to oppose all Insults, with which ill-minded Persons may threaten us."

When M. Osterman returned to *Aland*, in the Month of *April*, it was less to negotiate than menace the *Swedes*; for his Czarish Majesty had ordered him to declare, *That unless they accepted, in two Month's Time, of the Conditions proposed, they must expect a Visit from 40,000 Plenipotentiaries, who would force them to it with Sword in Hand.* But the Death of the King of *Sweden*, whose Ambition had given too much Umbrage to his Neighbours, had changed the Dispositions of all *Europe* with regard to that desolated Kingdom. The Protestant Powers especially deliberated, whether it could be for their Interest to suffer the Czar to tear from it its best Provinces. The King of *Great Britain* had concluded with *France* the famous *Quadruple Alliance*, in which it was stipulated, that the Enemy of any one of the contracting Powers should be deemed so to all the rest: For which Reason *France* took Pains to reconcile *Sweden* with the King of *Great Britain*, and succeeded in her Design; and his *Britannick* Majesty going this Summer to *Hanover*, nominated the Lord *Carteret* to be his Ambassador at the Court of *Sweden*, whither Colonel *Bassewitz* went before, being charged with the Affairs of that Electorate. His Excellency the Lord *Carteret* arrived at *Gottenbourg* the 18th of *June*, and in a few Days after at *Stockholm*. His first Care being to remove the Difficulties relating to the Navigation of the *British* Subjects in the *Baltick*, he presented a Memorial to the Queen of *Sweden*, which had all the desired Effect; her Majesty's Answer containing all the Concessions that the Court of *Great Britain* could expect. Having thus adjusted the Affairs of Commerce, the Ministers of the King of *Great Britain*, with those of *Sweden*, entered into a double Treaty; the first containing a Renovation of the Alliance between *Great Britain* and *Sweden*, and the other between her *Swedish* Majesty and the Elector of *Hanover*. By these Treaties *Bremen* and *Verden* were to re-

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main with the King of *Great Britain*, for a Million of Crowns to be paid upon the Ratification of them; and in case the War should continue in the North, his *Britannick* Majesty obliged himself not only to pay an annual Subsidy of 300,000 Crowns to *Sweden*, but to act with his Force against the Czar, and to procure for *Sweden* the Restitution of her Provinces, and of his States to the Duke of *Holslein*. A short Time after the King of *Prussia*, for the Cession of *Stettin* and its Districts, made a Treaty with the Queen of *Sweden*, very much the same with that of the King of *Great Britain*.

His Czarish Majesty, before he was thoroughly acquainted with these Negotiations, considering how great a Check the Maritime Powers might be to his Designs, endeavoured to keep fair with them, by communicating a Declaration to their Ministers of his Readiness to grant them a free Commerce, under certain Restrictions relating to particular Commodities, and of his Desire to live in Amity with them. But on the 3d of *July*, the *English* Admiral, Sir *John Norris*, arrived with his Squadron of Men of War in the Road of *Copenhagen*, which very little pleased his Czarish Majesty, who, at his first coming into the *Baltick*, had wrote the Admiral a Letter, dated on board the *Ingermanland* Man of War, of the *Muscovite* Fleet, *June* the 7th, 1719. O. S. and requiring him to send in Writing the Occasion of his coming into the *Baltick*, particularly whether he was to commit any Hostilities against him, or his Dominions. The Admiral answered him in the mildest Manner, desiring he would send to the King, his Master, to be satisfied of his good Intentions. But his Letter was so far from making the Czar easy, that he saw himself not only abandoned by his Allies, but those Allies gone over to his Enemy. As soon as he perceived this Change of Affairs, he went about executing the Descent with which he had threatened *Sweden*. And to oblige them to hearken to Propositions of Peace, and to give the Publick an Account of the Motives of this Expedition, which could not but prove very bloody, he published a Manifesto from on Board his Fleet, in order to vindicate his own Conduct from the Behaviour of her *Swedish* Majesty. The Queen of *Sweden* answered by a Counter-Manifesto; wherein

wherein she endeavoured to shew, that what his Czarish Majesty had dispersed over the Kingdom of *Sweden*, at the same Time that his Troops were putting all to Fire and Sword on the Coasts of that Kingdom, had no other View in it than to attribute the War, and those Obstacles which prevented a solid Peace, to Causes that were nothing less than real; her Majesty not doubting but her Subjects would very easily see thro' the Artifice of that Writing, which came from her avowed Enemy, to make false Impressions on them; and persuaded herself, that they were convinced of her Dispositions to procure Repose to her Kingdom by a good Peace; but that what had hitherto prevented it, was that, by the Conditions offered to her, the Czar was for reserving to himself all that he had taken from *Sweden*, except *Finland*; although it was he himself who had first undertaken the War, and had continued it all along with the utmost Severity; having burnt and plunder'd many Places, even while the Negotiations of Peace were going on. Her Majesty left her Subjects to judge what they were to expect from the Proximity of such a Neighbour, who was in a Condition to penetrate even into the Heart of the Kingdom with his Arms; and if it would not be more honourable for them to follow the Steps of their valiant Ancestors, than suffer themselves to be amused by the vain Promises of their Enemies, and draw upon themselves a Yoke, which would prove more intupportable than Death itself.

It was high Time, indeed, to think of opposing the *Russians*, who had already ruined several Maritime Places in *Sweden*; their Expedition being conducted in the following Manner: Admiral *Apraxin* having held a Council at the Island of *Capel*, took his Course towards the *Daelder Isles*, making by the Way several considerable Persons Prisoners; and upon Intelligence he received from divers Parts, he judged it would be most for the Czar's Service for him to return to the chief Copper-Mines, which he ruined, and burnt the Woods on that Side, together with several Gentlemens Seats. He arrived with his Fleet at *Landfort* on the 19th of *July*, having taken upon his Rout two Ships laden with Corn, and bound to *Stockholm* from *Koningsberg*. He was re-

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solved to go the next Day to *South-Telge*, and in the mean Time, had detached 50 *Cossacks* of the Cavalry, who advanced within a League and a half of *Stockholm*, defeated an Out-Guard of *Swedes*, and brought back with them a Corporal of the Guards, and eight of his Men. All this was but the Prelude to the general Descent intended by the *Russians*. The Hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, therefore, went to *Waxholm* with Count *Ducker*, to give necessary Orders. They perceived from the Coast of *Snyder-Arm*, some *Russian* Gallies, detached from the Fleet, to examine the Entrance of the *Scheeren*. They learned also, that the Czar had above 40,000 Men aboard, that were designed to make an Invasion in the Kingdom. His Royal Highness therefore departed for *Tuna*, where the Army was formed, consisting of 14,000 Foot, and 6000 Horse. Three Days after, they had Advice that a great Number of *Russian* Gallies were seen on the Coast of *Romausen*, above *Noorder-Telge*. The Night following the Regiment of Foot-Guards marched towards *Stockholm*, and were followed by some others that were to encamp at *Stok-Sund*, about half a League from that Capital. The next Day, News was brought that the *Russians* were perceived near *Oser-Kamingen*, within three Leagues of *Stockholm*, having burnt *Griwen Harven*, and the Country-Seat of *M. Hopken*, Secretary of State. Upon which a Detachment was sent on that Side, to prevent their penetrating any farther. But the *Russians* continued to ravage the Country, and burn the Houses all along the *Scheeren*. They divided their Gallies into three Squadrons; one of which went between *Noord* and *Suder-Telge*, another to the Coast of *Geefle*, and the 3d towards *Nikoping*. On the 27th of the same Month, a Detachment of *Cossacks* and Cavalry landed at *Sandmar*, and advanced as far as *Westerhaning*, four Leagues from *Stockholm*, where, meeting with 12 *Swedish* Troopers, they put them to Flight, and killed their Captain. Another Party going on Shore, burnt *Bo*, with the fine House of Count *Tessin*, within two Leagues of the Capital. The Prince of *Hesse* coming thither with some Troops from the Camp at *Tuna*, the *Russians* were obliged to retire: And his Royal Highness returning into the City at Night, it very much recovered the Spirits of the In-

Inhabitants. The Prince went the next Day to *Carelsberg* to the Queen, his Spouse, to give an Account of what had passed. It was known at the same Time, that Admiral *Norris* was arrived in the Road of *Copenhagen* with a large Squadron of *English* Vessels, from whence the *Swedes* had Hopes of a favourable Diversion.

In the mean Time, the *Russian* Fleet advanced on the 28th as far as the Mouth of the River of *Stockholm*, with a Design to surprize 19 Barks loaded with Provision for the City: They took five; but the rest escaped under the Canon of *Fort Dalero*. The 29th they burnt *Vagelbro*, *Malmoe*, *Sab*, *Sand*, *Wassy*, *Bratelund*, *Furstaeholm*, and *Herembo*; besides several Churches and Houses, the Inhabitants of which saved themselves in the Capital. On the 30th the Prince of *Hesse-Cassel* caused his Army to advance towards the Sea, and took up his Quarters at *Fours-Holm*, about a League and a half from the City. The *Russians* sent towards the North, and burnt several Towns and Villages, and among the rest the whole Island of *Soderoen*, and all the Parish of *Boertilles*, with all the Works that depended upon it; the Towns of *Ostkammer* and *Oregrund*, and the Parish of *Hokoyeund*. As it was in those Places that the most considerable Iron Mines of the Kingdom lay, the Ruin of them was almost an irreparable Loss to the *Swedes*. They did not spare even the Lands of *Thorao*, belonging to *M. Rumpf*, the Resident of the States General of the United Provinces. On the first of *August* 2000 *Russians* landed at *Osterwick*, near the *Suder-Telge*, and obliged a small Detachment of *Swedish* Troops to retire, with the Loss of three or four Men. The Enemy thought the *Russians* had a Design to land all their Forces at that Place; but they only set Fire to the Town of *Suder-Telge*, of which one half was reduced to Ashes, and at the Approach of a Regiment of Horse, they retired to their Gallies. On the 2d the *Russians* burnt several other Towns and Houses about *Suder-Telge*, and endeavoured to set Fire to the Woods to ruin the Mine-Works. Some of the *Russian* Troops were repulsed, and several of their Men taken Prisoners. Others went into *Ostrogothia*, where they did irreparable Damage. On the Northern Coast they burnt *Furstenar* and *Ortula*, where there were Mines of great

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Consequence. In the Night between the 6th and 7th they took a little Fort near *Nikoping*, defended only by 30 Men. They afterwards burnt the Town, that was well peopled, and carried on a considerable Trade. Five thousand *Russians*, a little after, seized on *Lofsta*, which was a Mine from whence the best Iron in the whole Kingdom was taken: They carried 13,000 Tons of it on Board their Gallies, and afterwards ruined the Works. The Inhabitants of *Norckoping*, understanding how the Town of *Nikoping* had been used, chose to set Fire themselves to their own Town, after they had drawn out their best Effects. It would be difficult to enter into an exact Detail of all the Executions of the *Russians* at this Time: But we must content ourselves with the Accounts published at *Petersburgh* by Order of the Czar, to eternize the Memory of them. According to the Calculations made there, Admiral *Apraxin*, for his Part, had burnt and destroyed 6 good Towns, 11 Castles or Palaces of Brick, 109 of Wood, belonging to Noblemen, 826 Villages and Hamlets, 3 Mills and 10 Magazines, two Mines of Copper and 5 of Iron. Major-General *Lesly*, on his Part, had reduced to Ashes 2 Towns, 21 Castles or Noblemens Houses, 535 Villages and Hamlets, 40 Mills, 16 Magazines, and 9 Mines of Iron, for one of which the *Swedes* had offered 300,000 Rix-Dollars, to save it from Ruin. They destroy'd the Corn and Forage, and killed all the Cattle and Horses that they could not carry off with them. They put on Board their Vessels all the Iron they were able, and the rest, to the Number of 80,000 Bars, they threw into the Sea.

The Design of the Czar, in all these Burnings and Devastations, was to bring the Court of *Sweden* to accept of such Conditions as he was willing to impose upon it. To which Purpose, he sent Councillor *Osterman* thither, charged with a Commission to make the hardest Propositions. He stopt about half a League from the City, whither the Court of *Sweden* having sent some Ministers to him, they found that, agreeable to the Project of Peace at *Aland*, he demanded nothing less than the absolute Cession of *Esthonia*, *Ingria*, and *Carelia*, comprising the Towns of *Revel*, *Wybourg*, *Narva*, and *Kecksholm*; and

and the Cession of *Livonia* for 40 Years. These Propositions were rejected with Scorn: The Congress of *Aland* broke up; the Ministers retired; and the *English* Squadron, which, till then, had remained in the Road of *Copenhagen*, sailed towards the Ports of *Sweden*; but found that the *Russians* had retired to their own Harbours 8 Days before.

The *Russians* were highly displeased at a Rumour which was spread Abroad, on this Occasion; and therefore published an Account, which they said had been first of all printed at *Revel*, entitled, "A true Relation of the Return of the *Russian* Fleet to *Revel* and *Cronstot*, taken in authentick Journals, and published to confute the false Reports of those that envy the Glory of his Czarish Majesty's Arms, and had spread a Report, as if the said Fleet had fled upon the Advice of the joining of the *English* and *Swedish* Fleets." It contained a Journal of the Motions of their Fleet for some Time before, and asserted, that the Season of the Year was the only Cause of their Retreat, they not hearing of the said Conjunction till after it was made. But, notwithstanding this Account, it was generally thought that the Approach of the *British* Fleet was the true Occasion of this Motion. It was on the 26th of *August* that Sir *John Norris* arrived at the *Dahlers*: The next Day the Prince of *Lifse* and the Lord *Carteret* paid him a Visit on Board; and on the 3d of *September* the Queen, and the whole Court, went on Board, and were entertained by the Admiral at Dinner; after which there was a Ball, in which her Majesty danced. The Admiral was received with great Honours at the City of *Stockholm*, where his Presence was very agreeable to the *Swedes*. On the 8th of the same Month Mr. *Berkeley*, Son of the Lord *Berkeley* of *Stratton*, set out from *Stockholm* with the Letters from the Lord *Carteret* and Sir *John Norris*, to the Czar, offering his *Britannick* Majesty's Mediation, for making Peace between his Czarish Majesty and the Queen of *Sweden*. Mr. *Berkeley* carrying these Letters to the *Russian* Plenipotentiaries, before their Departure from *Aland*, they would neither undertake to send them to the Czar, nor give him a Passport for *Petersburgh*, as in the Account above; but General *Bruce* contented himself to answer
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my Lord *Carteret*, "that the Contents of those Letters were so singular, and so little agreeable to the strict Ties and the Friendship that subsisted between their Czarish and *Britannick* Majesties, that he could not prevail with himself to do that which he desired, without having first received the Orders of the Czar."

Upon this Answer being given, the Sieurs *Jeffereyes* and *Weber* received Orders to leave the Court of *Petersburgh*, and retire to *Dantzick*: Which was enough to shew the King of *England*'s Disposition to the Czar. Besides, his Czarish Majesty had learned that Admiral *Norris* had Orders to join *Sweden*, in opposing the Operations of the *Russian* Fleet: Whereupon the Czar caused all the *English* Merchants in his Dominions to be arrested, and threatened to confiscate all their Effects, which amounted to above fifty Millions, if the *British* Nation made War upon him: And at the same Time, to cast all the Blame on the Court of *Great Britain*, his Czarish Majesty declared his Intentions to King *George I.* by a very bold Memorial, which was presented by his Resident *Wesselskowski*. It charged his *Britannic* Majesty with Breach of Treaties, and Violations of Friendship; and was answered by Secretary *Stanhope*, and the Chancery of *Hanover*: The Consequences of which we shall see hereafter.

Mean while the Czar, ever watchful over the Welfare of his People, this Year ordered the Jesuits to be banished his Dominions. These reverend Fathers, who have an admirable Art of getting into all Places where they can have any Prospect of Gain, had spared no Pains to introduce themselves into *Russia*, where the great Superstition of the People was like to prove an inexhaustible Fund for ecclesiastical Exactions: They had found Means to get a Recommendation from the Emperor; but there being at this Time a Coldness between the Courts of *Petersburgh* and *Vienna*, his Czarish Majesty caused an Order to be affixed at the Door of the *Roman* Catholick Church, requiring them peremptorily to depart within four Days after Notice given. After such Treatment, Posterity is not to expect that the writing Jesuits will bestow any Encomiums on this wise Monarch; who in the midst of the most important Affairs, did not neglect to im-

improve even the Diversions of his Court: For he this Year caused several Assemblies to be opened at *Petersburgh*, and had the following Regulations printed in the *Russian* Tongue.

I. The Person at whose House the Assembly is to be in the Evening, is to hang out a Bill, or other Sign, to give Notice to all Persons of either Sex. II. The Assembly shall not begin sooner than four or five in the Afternoon, nor continue later than ten at Night. III. The Master of the House is not obliged to go to meet his Guests, to conduct them out, or to entertain them; but tho' himself is exempt from waiting on them, he ought to find Chairs, Candles, Drink, and all the Necessaries asked for; and also, to provide for all Sorts of Gaming, and what belongs thereto. IV. No certain Hour is fixed for any Body's coming or going; it is sufficient if one makes his Appearance in the Assembly. V. It is left to any one's Liberty, to walk, sit, or play, just as he likes; nor shall any Body hinder him, or take Exception at what he does: As for the rest, it is enough to salute at coming and going. VI. Persons of Rank, Merchants of Note, Head-Masters, Persons employed in the Chancery, and their Wives and Children, shall have Liberty of frequenting the Assemblies. VII. A particular Place shall be assigned to the Footmen, those of the House excepted, that there may be sufficient Room in the Apartments designed for the Assembly.

At these Assemblies there is Dancing in one Room; playing at Cards in another, or Draughts, or Chess, in which last Game the meanest *Russians* excel: In a third Room there is commonly Company smoking, and discoursing together; and in the fourth are Ladies and Gentlemen, diverting themselves with Questions and Commands, Cross-purposes, and such like Plays. Tho' none of the Company are obliged to drink more Wine or Brandy than what they ask for, except on transgressing the established Rules of the Assembly, when they are to drink off a certain limited Quantity; yet there are many *Russians*, who lay hold of that Opportunity of making much of themselves at other Men's Cost, and look upon *Assemblies* as one of the most laudable of the Czar's Innovations. It falls to the Turn of every

every great Man at Court, to keep an Assembly once in a Winter at least; and if the Czar pitches upon a particular Person for it, Notice is given to him by the Master of the Police. Plays and Opera's are also now brought to some Degree of Perfection at *Petersburgh*; but were performed in a very awkward Manner in the Czar Peter's Time, who had no Relish for Entertainments of that Kind; but, however, was for encouraging them, as he thought they might help to soften the Moroseness of his People.

All the great Designs of his Majesty had this Year like to have been finished, by a violent Fit of the Cholick, that threatened his Life while he was at *Revel*, whither he went to hasten the Equipment of his Fleet, and complete the Fortifications of that Place: But the Vigour of his Constitution, and the Help of Medicine, once more restored him, to reap new Laurels.

CHAP. III.

Negotiations in Poland. Queen of Sweden resigns her Crown to her Husband. The Czar's Minister in Great-Britain is ordered to depart. British Fleet arrives in the Sound. The Czar declines the Mediation of the King of Great-Britain. An Officer arrives from Sweden, to notify the Accession of the Prince of Hesse-Cassel to the Throne. The Swedish Vice-Admiral attacks the Czar's Fleet, and is beaten. A Naval Triumph on that Account. The Russians commit great Ravages in Sweden. The Czar makes some Proposals, which are rejected; whereupon he continues his Preparations. Receives the Duke of Holstein under his Protection. Offers to accept the Mediation of France. A Congress appointed at Niebtedt. The Czar sends a Chart of the Caspian Sea to the Royal Academy at Paris. Peace between Russia and Sweden. The Czar is requested to take the Title of Emperor. Thanksgiving for the Peace.

THE Czar began with the Year 1720, to make new Preparations for the Campaign. Seeing himself abandoned by all his Allies, and forced to maintain alone

alone the War with *Sweden*, supported by an *English* Fleet, favoured by the Kings of *Prussia* and *Denmark*, and ready to make Peace with *Poland*, he called together a very considerable Army on the Side of *Finland*, and endeavoured with a numerous Fleet to make himself Master of the *Bothnick Gulf*.

The Diet of *Poland*, being assembled, sent the Palatine of *Mazovia* to his Majesty, to demand Satisfaction for the Damages done by the Marches of the *Russian* Troops, and by the Contributions they had raised; of which the Czar ordered Informations to be given, that he might punish the Officers who had suffered such Disorders. The Palatine likewise represented, that the Republick had carried their Patience as far as possible, while the Nobility were for getting on Horseback, to rid themselves of the Injuries that were done them by the *Russians*. His Majesty, who had some Pretensions on *Poland* that he did not care to relinquish, and who knew the Interest which the Emperor took in the Affairs of King *Augustus*, was obliged to act with great Caution, for fear the *Poles* should think of reconciling themselves to *Sweden*. He left the Management of this Negotiation to Prince *Dolgoruki*, who had been many Years Ambassador in *Poland*. This Minister, in several Conferences with the Deputies of the Nobility, gave them to understand, that his Master was very well inclined to enter into an Union with *Poland*; but desired, First, *To know whether the Letters that were sent in answer to his were approved of by the Body of the Republick, since they were in such Terms as looked like a Declaration of War*; Secondly, *Whether the Treaty concluded at Vienna, between the Emperor and the King of Poland, was made by Consent of the Republick*. He afterwards demanded, that the City of *Dantzick* should be obliged to execute the Treaty made with the Regency, by which she was engaged to furnish a certain Number of Frigates.

The Deputies answered to the first Question, that when it was not judged proper to continue any longer the last Diet at *Grodno*, it was resolved that the King, the Primate, and the Marechal of the *Nuncios*, should write to his Czarish Majesty as they had done: That those Letters contained only a necessary Remonstrance,
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that if the *Russian* Troops still remained in the Kingdom, the Republick would be obliged to take proper Measures, to prevent the entire Ruin of so many Provinces. To the second Question they answered, That the Republick had no Knowledge of the Treaty concluded at *Vienna*; but as it was made since the Diet at *Grodno*, they could have no Part in it: But that if the King, as Elector of *Saxony*, had concluded any particular Treaty, he had a Right to it, without rendering any Account to the Republick. As to his Czarish Majesty's Demand, with regard to the City of *Dantzick*; as the Kings of *Poland* had always left them in full Possession of their Liberties, and the Republick had maintained no naval Forces, they could not, they said, oblige the Citizens of *Dantzick* to make an Armament for the Czar. In short, after many reciprocal Deductions of the Complaints on both Sides, the Deputies declared, that the Republick were resolved to make use of the good Dispositions of the Queen of *Sweden* towards a Peace; and that the Republick invited his Czarish Majesty to conclude a Peace at the same Time, or discharge them from their Alliance.

The Palatine made his publick Entry into *Petersburgh* on the 5th of *March*. On the 7th he had an Audience of the Czar, before whose Throne he made a Speech, to felicitate him on the Success of his Arms over the common Enemy, and to assure him of the inviolable Amity of the King of *Poland* and the Republick. This Minister had several Conferences with those of his Czarish Majesty, who told him, that their Master could not renounce his Pretensions to *Courland*, nor yield *Livonia* to the Republick: That the City of *Dantzick* must execute the Conventions made with the *Russian* Generals; and that the Council of Finances should examine into what was due from the Czar to the Republick, and from the Republick to his Majesty.

While this passed at *Petersburgh*, the Treaty of Peace concluded with the King of *Prussia* was signed at *Stockholm*, and another was carrying on with the King of *Denmark*. The States of *Sweden* assembled, and the Queen took the Crown from her own Head, to place it on that of the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, her
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Royal Confort; who was crowned, to the general Satisfaction of all their Subjects. All these Measures tended little to Peace with the Czar: On the contrary, the King of *Great-Britain*, now firmly united with the Regent of *France*, had engaged him to pay the Subsidies which were due to *Sweden* from the most Christian King: So that at the Time when *Sweden* was at the lowest Ebb of Credit, she received 600,000 Crowns from the Court of *France*, with Assurances that the Subsidy, for the future, should be regularly paid. This Succour, joined to those of *England* and *Hanover*, made the *Swedes* take fresh Courage, and give his Czarish Majesty to understand, that he was not to expect Peace, unless he could bring them to it by Force; which occasioned him to make new Efforts, by re-assembling his Troops in *Finland*, and augmenting his Fleet.

In the mean Time the Czar's Resident, *Besuchef*, presented a Memorial to his *Britannick* Majesty, which was a Reply to the two Answers of his Majesty, mentioned in the preceding Chapter, to the Memorial of *Wesselowski*. In this Piece there is a Recital of the whole Transactions of the War in the North, from the first Beginning of it to that Time; and his Czarish Majesty undertakes to justify every Step he had taken, in the whole Progress of it. But the Reflections that were made, in this Memorial, on the *British* Ministers, pretending that they were in an Interest different from that of their own Country, and the little Respect that is paid therein to his *Britannick* Majesty, were Reasons for giving no other Answer to it, than an Order to *M. Beschuchef* to depart the Kingdom. And now, in pursuance of the Measures which the Court of *Great-Britain* had taken the Year before, as soon as the Season of the Year permitted, the *British* Fleet arrived in the Sound, under Sir *John Norris*, who was ordered to join the *Swedish* Fleet, in Support of his *Britannick* Majesty's Mediation. For this Reason, the Admiral, before he weighed Anchor in the Road of *Copenhagen*, wrote a Letter to Prince *Dolgoruki*, signifying the Motives of his coming. The Prince's Answer was no Ways satisfactory, and the Czar seemed determined not to accept of this Mediation. He was willing to treat of Peace directly with *Sweden*; or if there

there was to be a Mediator, he would admit of no other than the Emperor of *Germany*. On the other Hand, as there was no open Rupture between the Courts of *Petersburgh* and *London*, his Czarish Majesty was persuaded, that the *British* Admiral would keep himself only on the Defensive, and therefore formed an Army, behind the Intrenchments of *Abo*, in *Finland*, of 80,000 Men, besides the Flying Camp that was in other Parts of that Province. His Majesty also went from *Petersburgh* to *Cronstot*, and from thence to *Revel*, to hasten the Equipment of his Fleet and Gallies, which were in so fine Order, and so great in Number, that the *Palatine Mazovia*, at his Audience of Leave, could not forbear expressing his Admiration of them, in a Speech which he made to his Majesty, much to the following Purpose.

MOST serene, most powerful and great Lord, Czar and Autocrator of all *Russia*, the Ambassador Plenipotentiary of the most serene, most powerful and great Prince, *Augustus*, King of *Poland*, and of the Republick, is obliged to acknowledge, that whoever beholds your Czarish Majesty, beholds every Thing: All the World, Sire, look with Admiration on the Wonders of your Reign, and Posterity will hardly give Credit to them. Your Majesty is equally great in your warlike Enterprizes abroad, and the wise Government of your People at Home. Your invincible Armies, your building such powerful Fleets, and so many noble Fortresses, are admired on one Hand, as much as your Rules of Policy, the Foundations you have laid of Cities, Palaces, and other magnificent Edifices, are on the other. We, who are ocular Witnesses of them, shall not fail to recount these Wonders in our own Country. The King will hear the Report of them with so much the more Satisfaction, as we shall return to give him Hopes, that your Majesty will always maintain the Treaties you are entered into with him; and above all, for our own Part, we shall preserve an eternal Acknowledgment of the Favours you have vouchsafed to shew us.

When this Ambassador went away, there arrived at *Petersburgh* an Adjutant-General, named *Harenberg*,
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whom his *Swedish* Majesty had sent to the Czar, to notify his Accession to the Throne. This Minister had his Audience immediately, and in presenting the Letters with which he was charged, he made a very short Speech; the Substance of which was, That the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, by the Consent of the Queen and the States of the Kingdom, was ascended the Throne of *Sweden*: That his Majesty had a particular Esteem for his Czarish Majesty, with whom he very earnestly desired to conclude a firm and lasting Peace, and maintain a constant Friendship, to which he was willing to contribute all that was in his Power. The Czar answered, That he heartily wished the King of *Sweden* Joy on his Accession, and thanked him for his Notification of it to him; and said, that as he was always very far from being against a Peace with *Sweden*, he had still the same Inclinations to it, provided his *Swedish* Majesty would also come to a firm Resolution on that Point. The *Swedish* Officer was kept for some Time at *Petersburgh*, that he might be Witness to the Strength of his Czarish Majesty, without the Assistance of the Allies. His Majesty ordered him to be shewn his Docks, Yards, Ships, and Gallies, his Palaces, and Part of his Troops; and having admitted him to a private Audience, and given him his Answer to the King of *Sweden*'s Letter, ordered a Dispatch of the necessary Passports.

On the 7th of *August*, the *Swedish* Vice-Admiral approaching to reconnoitre the Fleet of his Czarish Majesty, commanded by Prince *Galliezin*, which was under *Ameland*, and not thinking the Number of Ships so large as it was, judged it proper to attack them; and one of his Gallies coming too near the Coast, touched on a Rock, where it stuck, and was taken by two *Russian* Gallies; as was another that ran aground. This obliged the *Swedes* to stand aloof; and afterwards, by the continual firing of the *Russians*, to retreat, with the Loss of two Frigates taken from them, and the other two fastened on the Sand-Banks: So that there was taken from them, on this Occasion, 150 Pieces of Cannon, and 400 Sailors; 200 were killed, and 300 wounded. The four Frigates were afterwards carried in Triumph to *Petersburgh*; at which Ceremony, his Czar-

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ish Majesty and the Czarina were present, and the Shew was exhibited with the greatest Pomp that was possible; because no Victories were so much prized by the Czar as those that he gained at Sea, which he hoped would encourage his Subjects to apply themselves to maritime Affairs. There was a Medal struck on Account of this Victory, on one Side of which was the Bust of his Majesty, and on the Reverse the Representation of a Naval Fight, with this Inscription: *Prudence and Valour surmount all Obstacles*. His Majesty also, to encourage his Subjects in doing their Duty, made a Present to Prince *Galliezin* of a Sword set with Diamonds, valued at 30,000 Florins, and distributed a Sum of Money, to the same Amount, among those Officers and Soldiers who had signalized their Valour.

The Land Forces remained not inactive this while. Prince *Galliezin* had attempted an Invasion in *Sweden*, as soon as the Frost broke, and advanced with his Gallies as far as *Aland*; from whence he sent Brigadier *Famendin*, who came back without doing any Thing. However, this Expedition drew on that Side all the Attention of the Enemy, and favoured the Execution of another Design, with which the Prince charged Brigadier *Mongden*, who embarked at *Wola*, on the Gallies, with about 5000 Men, with whom he sailed directly for the new Town of *Uma* in *Lapland*. At his Approach the *Swedes* immediately retired, and the *Cossacks*, who first landed, took four Officers and several Soldiers, that were in an advanced Post. The *Russians* afterwards set fire to the new Town, in which there were several Magazines; burnt and destroyed two Gentlemen's Country-Seats; 41 Villages, containing above 1000 Houses; 17 Mills, 113 Magazines, and other Building. After this Expedition, the Detachment returned to *Wola*, loaded with Spoil, and without suffering the least Loss. The *Swedes*, on their Side, made a Descent on the Isle of *Norwegen*, but did no great Damage there.

During these Hostilities, his Czarish Majesty, to return the Compliment he had received from the King of *Sweden*, named Adjutant-General *Romanzoff* to go to *Stockholm*, to felicitate that Prince on his Accession to the Throne, to let him know how true an Esteem he had

for his Person, and how earnestly he desired to find in him the same Inclination to Peace that he had himself. Besides this Commission, he had Orders, if he found a favourable Opportunity, to propose an Exchange of Prisoners, and a Suspension of Arms for the Winter-Season. This Envoy was received at *Stockholm* with as much Splendor, as that of his *Swedish* Majesty had been at *Petersburgh*. When he had delivered his Commission, he was answered in the most gracious Terms. He afterwards made the particular Propositions with which he was charged to Count *Horn*, President of the Chancery; but without Success: For the Count answered him, that the King could not consent to an Exchange of Prisoners, till a Cartel was settled both for the present and for the Time to come, upon which he had no Instructions. As to the Suspension of Arms, the *Swedes* thought it needless, since the Winter always put a Stop, as the Count said, to all Hostilities in the North. But in this he was much mistaken; For how often has it been seen that the *Russians* and *Swedes* took Advantage of the Ice; the first to pass the *Botnick Gulf*, the other to cross the *Sound*? The *Swedish* Minister added, that even if the Armistice required should be agreed to, it would be of no Use till the Preliminaries of Peace were settled. *Romanzoff* had no Instructions to go so far, but answered wisely, that the Armistice might not only give Room for Overtures of Peace, but even terminate that great Work; adding, that another Means to contribute towards it, would be to re-establish a Correspondence of Letters between *Russia* and *Sweden*: But he succeeded no better in this last Proposition than the two former, which plainly shewed how little Inclination that Court had for Peace. Nevertheless, *M. Romanzoff* had all imaginable Respect shewn to him; and as the Czar had kept *M. Wirtemberg* some Time at *Petersburgh*, the same Honours were done in *Sweden* to *M. Romanzoff*, who always made one in the Court Parties of Pleasure.

The Season of the Year now forced Admiral *Norris* to think of leaving the *Baltick*, where it may be said he had done much, by suffering the *Russians* to do nothing. His Czarish Majesty, who did not doubt but this Fleet would return the Year following, and who was convinced,

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by the Conduct of the Court of *Sweden*, that they were to be constrained to sue for Peace, employed the rest of the Year in making Preparations for a decisive Campaign; and that he might have the less to fear from the *British* Fleet, he endeavoured to augment his Marine; for which Reason he put upon the Stocks at once 8 or 10 Ships of the Line, of 60 or 80 Guns each; and was so vigilant in seeing the Work carried on, that they were all ready for Service the next Summer. Being at the same Time persuaded that the War could not last long, he turned his Thoughts on making Discoveries on the Coast of the *Tartarian Sea*, on establishing a good Understanding with the Emperor of *China*, and on bringing to Perfection the Works begun in the Mines of *Siberia*. Those whom he employed in these Works were able to assure his Majesty, that he had many and very rich Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, and Lead in his Dominions; and, by the Assays that had been made of the Ores, it was demonstrable that 30 or 40 per Cent. Profit might be got by them. His Majesty made very wise and prudent Regulations for carrying on these Works, and sent for able Workmen from *England*, *Hungary*, and *Sweden*, to be employed in them.

The Czar was again, at the Close of this Year, attacked with a violent Fit of the Cholick, which made his late almost despaired of: But Heaven still preserved him to accomplish the great Work of Peace, to confirm his Conquests, and farther to establish the useful Regulations he had made in his Empire.

M. Stambke, the Minister of the Duke of *Holslein*, had been some Time at *Petersburgh*. This Prince, being Son of the eldest Sister of the late King of *Sweden*, pretended a Right to the Crown preferably to the Princess *Ulrica*, who was the younger Sister; but, beside a Law which took from him all Claim to it, on Account of his Mother's having married a foreign Prince, the States of *Sweden* had resumed their antient Right of electing their Kings, by which that of Hereditary Succession was abolished. But the Duke of *Holslein* did not care to submit to this, yet saw himself set at a still greater Distance from the Throne, by the Cession which the Queen had made of the Crown to her Husband. Nevertheless, he

had a Party in *Sweden*, of whose good Dispositions towards him he was willing to take Advantage; but had not Strength enough to afford them much Assistance himself: And, on the other Hand, the King of *Denmark* had taken from him the Duchy of *Sleswick*, which was guaranteed to him by the King of *England*. In this Embarrassment he was advised to have Recourse to the Czar, who was the Enemy of *Sweden*, had but little Reason to be pleased with the King of *Denmark*, and had been so much offended at the Conduct of the King of *Great-Britain*. M. *Stambke* made the most of all these Circumstances, to obtain the Protection of the Court of *Russia* for the Prince his Master, who waited at *Breda* to learn the Success of this Negotiation. All these Reasons, with the Compassion the Czar had for the Circumstances of this Prince, the Esteem he had for the late Duke his Father, and a Desire of repairing the Injuries done to one of his Ancestors by a Predecessor of his Majesty, made him determine very soon to afford him his Protection; and, for the first Proofs of it, he sent him 100,000 Crowns, and an Invitation to come from *Breslaw* to *Riga*.

Nothing could be more happy than the Prospect of Affairs in the Beginning of the Year 1721, when all Things tended towards Peace. The Journey of Adjutant-General *Romanzoff* was so far from being useless, that it may be said to have produced the great Work. This Minister, being thoroughly informed of his Sovereign's Inclination to Peace, knew how to make it appear to Count *Horn*, that the Czar's most sensible Affliction was, that he should be constrained to ravage the Provinces of *Sweden*, to oblige the King to accept of the reasonable Terms he offered him. It is true that he rested here on general Terms; but tho' the *Swedes* had at first refused to grant a Suspension of Arms, or to agree to an Exchange of Prisoners; yet they afterwards kindly received Prince *Miserki*, after the Return of M. *Romanzoff*, with Propositions for settling a Cartel. This Step of his Czarish Majesty convinced the *Swedish* Ministry of the Sincerity of that Prince, who gaining continual Advantages over them, did not seem under any Necessity of courting his Enemies.

Enemies to make Peace: But *Peter* saw, in the Midst of his Conquests, that his People wanted Peace, and was resolved to undertake any Thing to procure it for them. He thought there was nothing mean in asking for Peace, when he was endeavouring to bestow it on a Nation that stood more in need of it than himself. Prince *Miserki*, on his Return to *Petersburgh*, was immediately followed by M. *Dahlman*, the *Swedish* Adjutant General; who, under Pretence of settling the Terms of a Cartel, took an Opportunity to speak of a Peace, and let it be understood that if his Czarish Majesty would continue the Armistice for the whole Year, the King of *Sweden* would readily come into it. The Czar, who had already regulated the Operations for the Campaign, apprehended that this might be only a Trap laid for him; and judged, with good Reason, that a Suspension of Arms for a whole Year would be giving so much Time to his Enemies to take fresh Measures; and so the Peace, instead of being forwarded, might be longer delayed: And therefore he rejected the Proposition; but let the *Swedish* Minister know, that he was not against accepting the Mediation of *France*, which M. *Campredon*, the Minister of that Crown at *Stockholm*, had in some Sort offered to him. The Court of *Sweden* were no sooner informed of this Declaration, than they caused M. *Campredon* to set out for *Petersburgh*, to know what were the Propositions of his Czarish Majesty. This Monarch proposed to M. *Campredon* the same Conditions with which M. *Ofterman* was charged when he sent him to *Stockholm*, and the same that he had proposed to the King of *Great-Britain*. The *French* Minister being returned into *Sweden*, a Place was immediately named for the Congress; which was *Niestadt*, or *Nieustadt*, a little Town in *Finland*, some Leagues from *Abo*. The Czar himself preferred this Place to *Abo*, with regard to the *Swedish* Ministers, who, he imagined, might not be well pleased to see the Preparations that were there carrying on.

It was during the Time of this Negotiation that the Czar received the agreeable News from *Constantinople*, that his Minister there had changed the last Treaty concluded with the *Porte* into a Treaty for a perpetual Peace: The Ratifications of which were immediately

dispatched, because his Majesty was just then informed of the Grand Signior's Orders to the 'Chain of Tartars', to stop the Incursions of his People into the *Russian* Provinces. As to the Treaty with *Sweden*, the Czar could not but apprehend that the *British* Ministers would do what they could to oppose it! For which Reason he resolved, by a refined Stroke in Politicks, to endeavour to sow a Dissention between that Nation and her Ministers; and with this View published the following Ordinance:

IT is notorious in what an unjust and disobliging Manner our Resident was sent back from the Court of *Great Britain*; which being so sensible an Affront, it would naturally have engaged us to have made Reprisals, but that we saw very plainly, that this was done without any Regard to the Interest of *England*, and only in Favour of that of *Hanover*, for which the Ministers of *Great Britain* not only neglect the Friendship of foreign Powers, but even spare not their own Country. It is for this Reason, that we are unwilling any Damage should accrue from thence to the *English* Nation, who had no Share in this unjust Proceeding; and therefore we allow all Security to that Nation, and full Power to trade to all Parts of our Dominions.

The Plenipotentiaries on both Sides were soon after named, and ordered to repair to *Neishadt*. The King of *Sweden* named Count *Liliensted* and General *Stromfeldt*, and the Czar committed his Affairs to General *Bruce*, and the Privy-Councillor *Osserman*, whom he honoured with the Title of Baron.

It was about this Time, that the Czar examined into the Disorders that were crept into the Offices for the Receipt of Money, where, notwithstanding there were several 100 Inspectors, he was able to make such a Reformation, as was not only a great Ease to his People, but to gain above 100,000 Roubles a Year to the Imperial Treasury. At the same Time also, the general Tariff was prepared, which was afterwards introduced into all the Ports of *Russia*. But no Business more employed his Majesty's Care, than to perfect the Canal that

was

was began below *Ladoga*, and was to make a Communication between the *Baltick-Sea*, and the River *Volga*; which falling into the *Caspian-Sea*, he was in hope, would enable him to open a Trade with *China*, the *Indies* and *Persia*, and supply them with *European* Commodities: But as this was a Work that required larger Sums of Money than could be well spared in a Time of War, it was one strong Motive, among others, to make him desire the Accomplishment of his pacifick Measures. In the mean Time, he sent 10,000 Dragoons, and as many *Calmucks*, to assist in the Undertaking. Some Time before this, he had sent certain Geographers and Astronomers to take an exact Survey of the *Caspian-Sea*, of which they made the Chart, which shews that Sea to be of a very different Form from what has been formerly represented by the Geographers. This Chart, with a Letter of his own, and another from his chief Physician, he sent to the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Paris*, by *Mynheer Schoumaker*, his Library Keeper, which were very gratefully received by them. The Librarian being introduced into the Academy by *M. de L'Isle*, the King of *France's* Geographer, and presenting his Letters, they were read by *M. de Fontenelle*, Secretary to the Academy. After which the Marquis de *Croissy*, at that Time President, made a handsome Speech in the Name of all the Members, to return Thanks to his Czarish Majesty for the Honour he had done them; and it was ordered that the Chart should be carefully preserved, among the Archives of the Academy.

In the Month of *April*, the Duke of *Holstein* arrived at the *Russian* Court, which was then at *Riga*; where he was received in the most gracious Manner, his Czarish Majesty promising to make his Interest his own. He was also well received by the Czarina, who arrived soon after, but had escaped a most imminent Danger in passing the ice upon the River *Da*, which broke immediately after she was got over. The Czar made some short Stay at *Riga*, regulating several Things, with respect to the Inhabitants of *Livonia*, both Nobles and Peasants. His Majesty sent, at the same Time, Orders into *Germany*, as well for those Troops that were already there, as for those that were expected; by which the *Poles*

perceived, that they were not likely to recover that Province with so much Ease as they had hoped for.

M. *Campredon*, the French Minister, having passed thro' *Stockholm* to *Petersburgh*, had several Conferences with the Ministers of his Czarish Majesty, in which he omitted nothing to procure a Suspension of Arms for that Year: But for the Reasons before given, the Czar would not be brought to consent to it. He was given to understand, That his Czarish Majesty's Resolution was absolutely fixed: That he would restore to Sweden all that was taken from it, except *Ingria* and *Livonia*, comprehending *Esthonia*, *Carelia*, the City of *Wybourg*, and the District of *Helsingford*: That his Majesty would abate nothing of these Articles; but if the Swedes were willing, on these Conditions, the Conferences might begin: That they saw what was demanded on his Side, and therefore the Suspension would be useless; for if the King of Sweden would enter into a Treaty *bona Fide*, the Peace might be soon concluded. The Plenipotentiaries accordingly very soon repaired to *Nieshadt*, where the Conferences were immediately begun; but not Time enough to prevent the Russian Troops from making some Progress in Sweden. For Lieutenant General *Leshy*, who commanded in Finland, set sail from *Aland* on the 27th of May, and arrived the next Day on the Coast of Sweden, before a Place called *Fickum*, in the Neighbourhood of *Göwek*, where he landed the Troops he had on board his Gallies, consisting of 5000 regular Men, and 370 *Cossacks*. He marched at first along the Coast towards *Suderkam*, and *Lukavichkam*, and afterwards as far as *Uma*, which is above 100 Swedish Leagues, where he met with very little Resistance. He took 1 Standard, 4 Colours, 2 Pieces of Brass Cannon and 5 of Iron, 3 Trumpets, and 10 Kettle Drums. He also took and burnt 6 new Gallies, 2 Merchant Men, and 25 other Vessels; in which they found, besides other Goods, 497 Muskets, and about 4000 Ells of Linnen-Cloth. He burnt a Magazine of Arms and Ammunition; ruined a Manufactory of Muskets, 2 Iron Forges, and 13 Mills; and burnt and destroyed 4 Towns, 509 Hamlets, 98 Parishes, 334 Burrs.

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This Expedition alarmed all Sweden: But the Czar, who desired nothing more than to spare the Blood of his Subjects, caused the Suspension of Arms to be published, as soon as he received Advice that his Plenipotentiaries had agreed to it. The King of Sweden having been brought to consent to the Cession of *Livonia* and *Carelia* the Czar did not refuse certain Advantages to the Swedes, that were capable of making them some Amends for the Injuries he had done them. This Readiness on both Sides of coming into Measures with each other, soon put an End to their Conferences, by signing the following Treaty. 1. There shall be a perpetual Peace and Friendship. 2. Also a perpetual Amneity, except for the *Cossacks*. 3. Hostilities shall cease within 3 Weeks after signing the Peace. 4. Sweden yields *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, *Ingermanland*, Part of *Carelia*, and of the Territory of *Wybourg*, the Islands of *Oesel*, *Dragoe*, *Mann*, &c. The Czar restores to Sweden Part of *Finland*, and gives his Swedish Majesty two Millions of Rix-dollars. 5. Part of Finland shall be evacuated to the Swedes in the Space of 4 Weeks after the Ratifications. 6. The Swedes shall be permitted to buy every Year 50,000 Roubles-worth of Corn at *Riga*, *Revel*, and *Wybourg*, and to transport it without paying any Duties of Export, except in such Years when the Harvest proves bad, or some other solid Reason hinders it. 7. The Czar will not concern himself with any Domestick Affairs of Sweden. 8. The Limits described by the Treaty shall be regulated by Commissioners, after the Ratifications are exchanged. 9. *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, and the Isle of *Oesel*, shall have the same Privileges they enjoyed under former Governments. 10. The Exercise of Religion shall remain as formerly, except that the Greek shall be introduced. 11. Every one shall enjoy the Estates and Inheritance which he can prove of Right to belong to him. 12. The Confiscations, Inheritances, and Possessions shall be restored, except the Revenues already escheated. Those who are desirous to do Homage to the Czar, may do so, without being thereby incapacitated to serve elsewhere. But those who shall not do Homage to the Czar, shall have Liberty to dispose of their Estates in the Space of three years, and all Mortgages shall be paid.

paid off and discharged. 13. The Contributions shall cease forthwith in *Finland*; but the *Russian* Troops shall be supplied with Provisions, till they are arrived on the Frontiers. The Czar may carry away the Cannon, and the Inhabitants shall be obliged to furnish Horses for that Purpose. 14. The Prisoners on both Sides shall be released without Ransom, provided they pay their Debts; but such as had rather stay shall be permitted to do so. 15. The King of *Poland* is included in the Treaty. 16. As for Commerce, the *Swedes* shall be treated on the same Foot with the Nations that are most befriended. 17. The Houses of Commerce shall be re-established, and new ones built on the Towns that are restored.

The *Swedish* Plenipotentiaries endeavoured to have the King of *Great Britain* included in the Treaty, as Elector of *Hanover*; and, on that Condition, the *Russian* Plenipotentiaries, proposed that the Dukes of *Holslein* and *Mecklenbourg* should be comprehended in it: But after some Debates in the first Conferences, wherein the Duke of *Holslein's* Affairs were mentioned, the *Swedes* declared they could not treat of any Thing concerning that Prince, and so rejected the Proposition; which made the *Russians* do the same with respect to the Elector of *Hanover*.

What Joy the Conclusion of this Peace gave his Czarish Majesty, may be guessed at, by the Profusion with which he celebrated the Publication of it; not only at *Petersburgh* and *Moscow*, but in all the Courts where he had any Ministers. The *Russian* Plenipotentiaries were loaded with Favours and Presents, nor were those of *Sweden* forgot; his Majesty giving 10,000 Roubles to the first, 8000 to the second, and 2000 to the Secretary of the Embassy. The News of the Peace was carried from one End of the *Russian* Empire to the other, with Orders to set all the *Swedish* Prisoners, in *Siberia*, and other remote Provinces, at Liberty: But his Czarish Majesty signified to them, that as it was very likely the *Swedes* would disband Part of their Forces, and that perhaps they would find no Entertainment in their own Country, he was willing to give them the same Rank in his Troops, as they had in the Service of *Sweden*; but that they

they should be obliged to make a public Declaration of their accepting any such Offer, that it might not be said, that he had detained them contrary to the Terms of the Treaty. His Majesty's Generosity went so far, as to give Letters of Recommendation to several of those, whose Valour and Fidelity to their King and Country he had been a Witness to; and the King of *Sweden* paid such regard to those Recommendations, that he raised Rear-Admiral *Ehrenchild* to the Rank of Admiral on that Account; and his Czarish Majesty, on the Departure of that brave Prisoner, made him a Present of his Picture set with Diamonds.

His Majesty sent Orders to the Governor of *Riga*, to grant a Church to the Reformed Protestants in that City, which they could never obtain in the Time of the *Swedish* Government; and gave them other Privileges, to encourage Foreigners of the same Communion to come and settle there. He restored to the *Livonians* the Privileges they had been deprived of in the two last Reigns, and for the Defence of which the unhappy Count *Patkul* may be said to have died a Martyr. He made other Ordinances, which gave the People a great Idea of the Mildness of his Government; and to such as preferred any other to his, he gave Liberty to retire to any other Place. Seventeen hundred *Russian* Prisoners were now sent back from *Sweden*, where great Rejoicings were made on Account of the happy Conclusion of the Peace, which, tho' dear bought, was a valuable Purchase to them.

His Czarish Majesty, on his Part, appointed the 22d of *October* as a Day of publick Thanksgiving for the Peace; but a few Days before he went to the Senate, and made a Speech to the following Purport: "That since it had pleased God to heap so many Blessings on him during the last burthensome War, and at length to grant him a Peace so glorious, he thought it but a Piece of Justice in him to do the Nation some Favour, in acknowledgment of the Mercies he had received at the Hand of God; and that he could not better acquit himself of this Duty, than by publishing a general Amnesty throughout the Empire." The Senate, having most humbly thanked his Czarish Majesty for his paternal

nal Tenderneſs, Orders were immediately diſpatched to all Parts of the Empire, to ſet all Perſons at Liberty confined in Priſons, or on board the Gallies, to the 22d of *October* incluſively.

On the 20th of *October*, the Senate, after Deliberation with the Clergy, reſolved, in the Name of the whole Empire, “ Moſt humbly to thank his Maſteſty for his Fatherly Care and Pains, with which he had applied himſelf to the Advancement of the Happineſs of the Empire, ever ſince he had held the Reins of Government; but eſpecially during the laſt War, in which, by his ſole Direction, he had put his Dominions into ſo formidable a Condition; and acquired the Nation ſo much Glory; and to intreat him that he would be pleaſed, as a Token of his Subjects Acknowledgment for the ſame, to accept the Titles of *Father of his Country, Emperor of all Ruſſia, and Peter the Great.*” For this Purpoſe, Prince *Menzikoff* was ſent to his Maſteſty with a Letter from the Senate, praying him “ to accept theſe Titles, and to give them Leave to offer them to his Maſteſty on the Day of the Celebration of the Peace in the Church, by a ſolemn Speech.” His Maſteſty ſent Word by the Prince, *That he ſhould be glad to ſpeak to ſome of the Members of the Senate about it.* And accordingly the Senators, accompanied by the Vice Presidents of the Synod, waited on him, and renewed their Requeſt. He ſeemed a long Time in Suſpence, whether or no he ſhould accept their Offer, and, for certain Reaſons, deſired to be excuſed: But the Senators very earneſtly repeating their Inſtances to the contrary, he at length conſcended to accept thoſe Titles.

On the Day appointed for ſolemnizing the Thankſgiving for the Peace, their Czarish Maſteſties went in the Morning to the great Cathedral; where, after the Laurgy, the Treaty of perpetual Peace between his Maſteſty and the Crown of *Sweden* was read in the Preſence of the Miniſters of the *Emperor, France, Pruſſia, and Holland.* Then the Archbiſhop of *Pleſkow* made an Harangue, in which he rehearſed all the glorious Exploits of his Maſteſty, and the Favours he had beſtowed upon his Subjects during his Reign; adding, that he juſtly deſerved the Appellations of *Father of his Country, and the Great,*

Great. When his Harangue was ended, the Senate advanced to his Maſteſty in a Body, and the Count *Golliſkin*, Great Chancellor, made the following Speech to him in the *Ruſſian* Language, in the Name of all the States of the Empire.

IT is only owing to your Maſteſty's illuſtrious Actions, and the indefatigable Care with which you have always applied yourſelf to the Affairs of State and War, that we are delivered out of the Darkneſs of Ignorance, and ſet upon the Theatre of the World in Sight of the whole Univerſe: So that we, who before were Nothing, are now become Something, and are in the ſame Rank and Intereſt with the polite Nations. Where ſhall we find Words duly to exalt your Maſteſty's Merits, who hath procured us a Peace ſo advantageous to your Empire? But as we know your Maſteſty does not care for ſuch Panegyricks, we will ſuppreſs them. However, leſt we ſhould be taxed with Ingratitude, we take the Liberty, in the Name of all the States of the Empire, moſt humbly to intreat your Maſteſty that you will pleaſe to accept the Titles of *PETER THE GREAT, FATHER OF THE COUNTRY, AND EMPEROR OF ALL RUSSIA.* The Title of *EMPEROR* was granted ſome Ages ago to your Maſteſty's illuſtrious Anceſtors, by the Great *Roman* Emperor *Maximilian I.* and ſeveral Powers do actually give it to your Maſteſty at this Time. The Title of *GREAT*, which your Maſteſty hath acquired by your Heroick Actions, hath been already given to you in ſeveral publick Writings: And as for the Title of *FATHER OF THE COUNTRY*, we thought fit to give it to your Maſteſty, as being our *Father*, whom God hath been pleaſed to grant us in his great Goodneſs, without any Merit of our own. We give it you after the Example of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, who uſed to give thoſe Appellations to ſuch of their Monarchs as rendered themſelves famous by glorious Exploits, and by Acts of Goodneſs to their People. Therefore we think ourſelves obliged, by your Maſteſty's fatherly Tenderneſs, moſt humbly to offer you *what is already yours without it*, and what belongs to you by full Right and Title; intreating, that you would be pleaſed to favour us according to your known Magnanimity, and moſt

most graciously to accept what we now dedicate to your Majesty.

Then the whole Senate thrice repeated, *Long live PETER the Great, Father of his Country, and EMPEROR of all RUSSIA*; and the whole Assembly testified their Applause, by the Sound of Trumpets and Kettle-Drums. At the same Time the Cannon were discharged from the Ramparts, the Admiralty, and 120 Gallies that arrived the same Day with 23,000 Foot Soldiers, who had been till then in *Finland*. This was followed by a Salvo of the small Arms of some Battalions of the Guards, and of the Troops that were on board the said Gallies, and other small Vessels. His Imperial Majesty having answered the Speech, the Senate, making a profound Reverence, gave Thanks to God in Prayer, which was followed by a second Salvo of the Cannon and small Arms: A Chapter was then read out of one of the Gospels, and the Metropolitan of *Rezan*, kneeling, recited the Lord's Prayer with a loud Voice, and the Service ended. Their Imperial Majesties were saluted going out of the Church, with the Acclamations of the People, and a third Discharge of the great and small Arms.

After this, the Senate went in a Body to congratulate the Empress and the Imperial Princesses; who very graciously thanked them. The Emperor and Empress went from thence to the Hall of the Senate, where the Duke of *Holstein* waited with his Retinue, and all the foreign Ministers, every one of whom congratulated them on their Entrance into the Hall. Then Prince *Menzikoff*, Count *Apraxin*, and the Secretary of the Senate, declared the Advancement of several Land and Sea-Officers: After which the Assembly sat down to Table, where above 1000 Persons of both Sexes were entertained. The Conduits in the Street ran with Wine: An Ox was roasted whole, and stuffed with Fowls for the Populace; and the Night concluded with Illuminations and Fire-Works. But the Rejoicings continued at *Petersburgh* for 15 Days, in which was one of those grand Masquerades that the whole Court had a Part in, and which was repeated every Day for 5 or 6 Times.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Czar assumes the Title of Emperor, and requires it to be given him by foreign Powers. Trade effectually removed from Archangel to Petersburg. The Bible translated into the Russian Language. The Emperor makes a triumphant Entry into Moscow. Obliges his People to take an Oath, that they will approve of the Person he shall appoint for his Successor. Grounds of the War with Persia. His Majesty prepares for an Expedition on the Caspian Sea. Makes several Regulations before his Departure. Calls a Synod. Disperses a Manicheist. Journal of his Expedition to Derbent. Good Offices of the French Ambassador at the Porte. Proceedings against Baron Schaffroff. The Emperor returns to Petersburg. Reviews his Navy. Gives Ships to several Cities. The Duke of Holstein demands the Title of Royal Highness. Consecration of the Little Grand-ure. Reception of the Persian Ambassador. Taking of Baku. Discontent of the Turks. A Treaty between Russia and the Porte.

THE Vice-Chancellor, *Schaffroff*, had Orders to acquaint all the Ministers of foreign Princes, that the Title of Emperor, which his Majesty had been requested to take upon him, was what had been formerly given to his Predecessors by the several Powers of Europe; and shewed them at the same Time a Treaty, a Copy of which his Majesty had caused to be printed at *Petersburgh*, between the Emperor *Maximilian I.* and *Czar Ivanowitz*, whereby it appeared, that the said Emperor stiled the Great Prince of *Russia* EMPEROR and Dominator of all *Russia*. The Subject of the Treaty is an Alliance between those two Monarchs, against *Sigismund*, who was elected King of *Poland* in Opposition to the Emperor *Maximilian*. This Piece was looked upon not only as a Proof that the Title of EMPEROR could not be denied the Czar, but that also the Title of Sovereign of all *Russia*, which the *Poles* would not own, had been given him by a Prince who stood Candidate for the Crown of *Poland*.

His Majesty, not contented with the Declaration made to the foreign Ministers at *Petersburgh*, caused his own Ministers abroad to demand it of the Powers to whom they were sent. Some of these consented to it without any Difficulty, and some waited till others had shewn the Example. The King of *Prussia*, the States-General, and the Grand Signior, were the readiest to acknowledge his new Title; the Ambassador of the first making a set Speech on that Occasion. But the King of *Denmark* had not the same Complaisance: Perhaps he feared, by that, to authorize the Demand his Imperial Majesty had made, that all *Russian* Ships should pass the *Sound* Custom-free. *M. Bestuchef*, his Minister at *Copenhagen*, had made pressing Instances on that Head: But was answered, that the Privilege and Customs of the *Sound*, was an ancient Prerogative always belonging to the Crown of *Denmark*, wherefore the Czar could not insist justly upon obtaining an Exemption, which his *Danish* Majesty could by no Means agree to. At the same Time that this was in Agitation, the *Russian* Monarch, who was always intent on whatever could promote the Trade of his Subjects, contrived a new Method for preserving his Ships from rotting, and keeping them in good Repair without any Charge; and that was, to allow the trading Cities of his Dominions a certain Number of Ships, for carrying on their Commerce, upon Condition, that the Merchants should fit them out at their Charges. By this Disposition, the City of *Riga* was to have 10 Ships, and the other Towns in Proportion.

The Emperor, having found his Design of transferring the Commerce of *Archangel* to *Petersburgh* impracticable, during the Continuance of the War; now all the Obstacles were removed by the Peace of *Neistadt*, renewed the Orders he had formerly given for that Purpose. The Merchants could not help murmuring at this Injunction; but his Majesty made them amends in some Sort, by ordering the Commissioners of Trade to prepare them convenient Store-Houses and Lodgings. This Regulation was followed by another very different, but worthy of the sincere Piety of this great Monarch. Being persuaded of the many Evils that accompany Error and Superstition, and of the great Advantages to be drawn from

the pure Fountain of true Religion, he thought that one of the first Uses he ought to make of the Leisure he now enjoyed, should be to procure to his People, plunged by the Remissness of their Clergy into the most profound Ignorance in Matters of Religion, the Lights which might be received from the Holy Scriptures: For which Reason he caused the BIBLE to be printed at *Amsterdam* in *Holland*, in such a Manner, that every one might write, at the Side of each Verse, such Notes as should be made by certain Divines chosen for that Purpose. He ordered these Books to be sold at a low Price, and that every Father of a Family should have at least one Exemplar. He likewise commanded all the Clergy in his Dominions to preach, for the future, after the Method used in the polite Parts of *Europe*, and to advance nothing but what was conformable to the Scriptures.

After having made so many useful Regulations, his Majesty resolved to go and share the publick Joy with his Subjects at *Moscow*, where it was likewise necessary to reform some Things. As his Majesty was desirous to enter this antient City in Triumph, and as the People were apprized of his Intentions, most magnificent Preparations were made for the same. His Majesty went from *Petersburgh* on the 21st of *December*, 1721, followed by the Empress, the whole Court, and all the foreign Ministers. He arrived at *Moscow* on the 26th; but did not enter the City till the 29, that every Thing might be got ready. On the Day appointed, he put himself at the Head of the *Preobrazinski* Regiment of Guards, as their Colonel, being proceeded by a Company of Grenadiers, and followed by 2 Lieutenant-Colonels of the Guards. Afterwards marched 4 Majors, followed by 8 Captains in the first Rank, and 8 Captain-Lieutenants in the second. After these came 16 Colours, carried in two Ranks. The rest of the Officers were posted near their Companies, according to their Stations. The *Preobrazinski* Regiment was followed by the second Regiment of Guards, which marched in the same Order, and then by 4 other Regiments.

The Emperor being arrived at the first triumphal Arch, he was received with the Sound of Trumpets, Drums, and a Discharge of the Artillery. When he came to the second

second triumphal Arch, he was complimented by the Archbishop of *Novogorod*, Vice-President of the Synod at the Head of the secular and regular Clergy. The Emperor received this Compliment very graciously, and diverted himself for some Hours with hearing Concerts of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, performed by divers young Students, who sang in various Foreign Languages, in Presence of the Duke of *Holstein*, the Senators, and all the Generals. The Words of this Musick were the first Airs with Notes to them that were ever seen printed in *Russia*. After this, his Majesty proceeded to the third triumphal Arch, erected by Order of Prince *Mentchikoff*; and after having stopped there a while, to satisfy the Curiosity of the Populace, he continued his March towards the fourth triumphal Arch, erected by the Magistrates. There he was received by the Prince *Troubiskoi*, President of the Magistracy, and by the whole Body of the Magistrates, accompanied by a great Number of eminent Merchants. His Majesty declared to them his great Satisfaction, and assured them of his Protection.

This Entry was followed by Feasts, Balls, and other Diversions: Notwithstanding which, his Imperial Majesty held frequent Councils about the Affairs of State; and being desirous to settle the Succession upon a Prince who might follow his Maxims, (his only Son *Peter* dying almost * 3 Years before, in the 5th Year of his Age) he thought fit to give publick Notice, on the 23d of *February* 1722, by Sound of Trumpet, that all Officers, Civil and Military, all natural-born Subjects, and foreign Merchants, inhabiting within the Capital of *Moscow*, should repair the next Day to the Castle-Church; where, as many as were in Town being assembled, a Proposal they little expected was made to them, and afterwards distributed to each Person in Print: "That it was his Imperial Majesty's Pleasure, that every Man should swear, and give it under his Hand, that he will not only approve the Choice his said Majesty shall make of a Successor to the Empire, but moreover acknowledge the Person his Majesty shall propose for that End, as Emperor and Sovereign." An Order was

* On the 23d of *February*, 1719.

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likewise published a few Days after at *Petersburgh*, requiring the Magistrates, and all other Persons, to subscribe the same Declaration; and all the Grandees of the Empire were commanded to repair to *Moscow*; subscribe also upon the Pain of Death, and Confiscation of their Estates, except those of the Kingdoms of *Astracan* and *Siberia*, who, living at too great a Distance from the Court, were allowed to subscribe before their respective Governors. All People very readily took the Oath required, and eagerly pressed to subscribe to the Will of the Emperor, well assured that he would make Choice of no one but who was worthy to succeed him: But they were in the Dark as to the Name of the Person, tho' most Men believed it was Prince *Naraskin*, a near Relation to the Emperor, who had lived some Years at *Amsterdam*, where he learned the Mathematicks, Navigation, and the Art of Ship-Building; and from thence had gone into *England*, *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, and continued in those several Parts a sufficient Time to learn their Languages, Customs, and Policy. Every Body allowed that he had a great Genius, and all the Qualities to be wished for in a Prince; and withal, that he was so well convinced of the Wisdom of the Measures the Czar had taken, that no Body was more proper to pursue the same Views, and perfect what that Prince had so gloriously begun.

The Act of Succession declared several Motives, which had induced the Emperor to take this Resolution. His Majesty declared, that both Scripture and Reason obliged a Prince to exclude a Person who is either incapable of governing a great Nation, or has such vicious Inclinations, that there may be Reason to fear he would be the Tyrant of his People: That he was so entirely persuaded of this Duty, that if the Person he designed for his Successor should forget himself upon that Account, grow proud, vicious, and insolent, and in short, did not answer his Expectation, he would exclude him, and chuse another more worthy.

This Point settled, his Majesty prepared for new Conquests, which the Peace he had just concluded with *Sweden* gave him an Opportunity to make. *Hussin* IV. had been *Schah* or King of *Persia* ever since the Year 1694, when

when he succeeded his Father *Schah Soliman III.* He was an effeminate Prince, brought up in the *Haram*, which is the same as the *Seraglio* in *Turky*: Ignorant of the Art of Reigning, he was a King only in Name, whilst his Grand Vizier had all the Power. During the Time he was on the Throne of *Persia*, the *Tartars*, the *Moguls*, and the *Arabs*, made several Irruptions into his Provinces, and were only driven thence by the Force of his Money, which had constant Charms to draw them into fresh Invasions. It was of this Prince that the *Czar* had obtained a free Passage for the *Russian* Caravans to *China*, and with whom the last Treaty of Commerce was concluded.

Candahar is an important City, on the Side of *Megolistan*; the Capital of a large Province, inhabited by a foreign Nation, which the famous *Tamerlane* transported thither formerly from *Schirvan*, antiently the *Great Albania*, from whence the People retained the Name of *Aghevans*. This City, and its Inhabitants, had their particular Princes, Vassals to the King of *Persia*, till the Time of *Schah-Seft*, who forced *Alimerdan-Kan*, Prince of *Candahar*, to put it under the Protection of the *Mogul*, to avoid his own Death; and it was not recover'd till the Year 1650: Since which Time, *Candahar* and the *Aghevans* were put under the Government of some *Persian* Lord. The last was *Georgi-Kan*, Prince of *Georgia*, whom *Hussien Schah* sent as an Exile to govern *Candahar*. There was at that Time in the City a Man named *Myrr-Weis*, who was a *Chelintar*, or Gatherer of the Tribute. He exercised this Employment with a Disinterestedness and Lenity, that gained him the Affections of all Sorts of People. He possessed great Wealth, which he made use of to do good Offices. Prince *Georgi-Kan* no sooner perceived this Management, than he imagined there was some Design in it, and informed the Court of his Suspicions. *Myrr-Weis* was sent for to *Ispahan*, where his fine Parts enabled him soon to make many Friends, and to discover the Weakness of a Court quite immersed in Pleasures. He found Means to be sent back to *Candahar* with some Authority, where he was no sooner returned, but he assassinated *Georgi-Kan*, and forced the *Aghevans*,

Aghevans to revolt. Thus he raised himself to the Sovereign Power, which he preserved till his Death in 1717, without the Court of *Persia*'s being able to reduce him to Obedience. He was succeeded by his Brother, whose Name is unknown; but who, being pacifick in his Nature, endeavoured to persuade the Grandees to make Peace with the *Schah-Hussien*, without Effect. While he was labouring to bring this about, he was assassinated in his Chamber by *Myrr-Magbmud*, his Nephew, and Son of *Myrr-Weis*, who was then but 18 Years of Age. It was this *Myrr-Magbmud*, known in *Europe* by the false Name of *Myrr-Weis*, who caused a Revolution in *Persia*, the most astonishing that is to be met with in History.

He began to augment his Forces, by constraining the *Aghevans* of the Province of *Hafaria* to take his Part. There is no Occasion for giving a particular Account of all the Battles fought by *Myrr-Magbmud*, till he made himself Master of *Kirman*, the Capital of a fine Province; which, with *Ispahan* and *Candahar*, make a Triangle. *Hussien-Schah* now began to consider what might be the Consequences of this Revolt, against which he had not made use of all the Forces in his Power. He gave the Command of his Army to *Lusli-Ali-Kan*, Brother-in-Law to the *Achemat-Doulet*, or Prime Minister. This Man was an experienced Officer, who first shewed the *Aghevans* that they were to be beaten, and hardly appeared before *Kirman*, which the Rebels had taken by the Treachery of the *Gaurs*, but he retook that important Place, and chased *Myrr-Magbmud* even to the Walls of *Candahar*, which he would have reduced, had he had necessary Provisions. He would also have given a good Account of the Revolters next Year, if, during the Time that he assembled his Army under *Chiras*, his Enemies had not found Means to blacken him and his Brother-in-Law, and render him odious to the weak *Hussien*, who, without examining into any Thing, closed the Eyes of his Prime Minister to be pulled out, and his General to be put under an Arrest, though they were both innocent of all the Crimes that were laid to their Charge. The Loss of these two great Men first raised the Fortune of *Myrr-Magbmud*, and was the

the Ruin of *Schah-Hussein*, and all *Persia*. After the Disgrace of *Lusti-Ali-Kan*, *Myrr-Maghmud* left *Candabar*, retook *Kirman*, and making himself Allies in all the Places round about him, advanced towards *Ispahan* with 50 or 60,000 Fighting Men. The Revolt of the *Aghwans* set a fatal Example, that was soon followed by others, especially the *Leshians*, a People about Mount *Caucasus*, on the West of the *Caspian Sea*; who seeing the Disorders which the Revolt of *Myrr-Maghmud* had caused, came down from their Mountains, entered *Schirwan*, pillaged the Country, and took *Szamachi*, where they put all to the Sword, and among the rest 300 *Russians*, who were come thither on Affairs of Trade, and whose Effects they also seized, amounting to above a Million of Money.

Whilst this passed in the North of *Persia*, *Myrr-Maghmud* made daily Progress towards the South. It would be superfluous to relate all that was done by this new *Cromwell*, in less than a Year, always under the Pretence of bringing to Reason the Enemies of the *Schah*, to whom he constantly gave such false Accounts, as engaged him to put to Death his best Friends. At length, with the Alcoran in one Hand, and his Scymetar in the other, he cried aloud for nothing but Justice, and the Destruction of Hereticks. He came even to the Gates of *Ispahan*, where, taking off the Mask, he attacked the *Schah* himself, and obliged him to declare him his first Minister, and Protector of *Persia*. It was necessary that the Reader should know thus much of those Facts, which were the Reasons for the *Russian* Emperor's carrying his Arms into *Persia*. The *Russian* Merchants, pillaged and massacred by the Rebel *Leshians*, and the Caravan from *China* treated in the same Manner by the *Ussicks*, were likewise powerful Motives to induce the Emperor to send an Ambassador into *Persia*, to carry the Complaints of the Outrages either to the *Schah-Hussein*, or to *Myrr-Maghmud* himself.

The *Russian* Ambassador found *Persia* in Confusion: Therefore he went directly to the Camp of *Myrr-Maghmud*, whom Victory obsequiously followed. He had Audience immediately, and declared the Subject of his Commission; remonstrating, that as his Troops, joined
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with the *Ussicks*, had massacred the Subjects of the Emperor, and robbed them of the Treasures that they had brought out of *China*, the Emperor of *Russia* could not but look upon such a Violence as contrary to the Law of Nations, and therefore had a Right to demand a proper Satisfaction. *Myrr-Maghmud* heard these Complaints, and answered the Ambassador, that for himself, he desired nothing more than to maintain a good Understanding with the Czar, who had been described to him as a Prince as ingenious and prudent, as he was valiant and warlike; but that he would advise him, if he intended to send any more Caravans to *China*, to make an Alliance with the *Tartars*, and to stipulate for the Liberty of passing thro' their Country, or else to send a good Body of Troops to escort those Caravans: And that, for his Part, he could not prescribe Laws to the *Ussicks*, his Allies.

As soon as the Emperor was informed of this insolent Answer, he gave Orders in all the Eastern Provinces of his Dominions, to assemble his Troops: He armed the *Cossicks* and the *Calmuks*, and built at *Asracan*, and along the *Volga*, Barks, Gallies, and such other necessary Vessels, as he judged he should have Occasion for in an Expedition on the *Caspian Sea*. Besides the Contempt with which *Myrr-Maghmud* had sent back his Ambassador, he had regard to the firm Establishment of a useful Commerce, which he always considered as the Basis of the Grandeur of his Empire, and the great Spring of all his Enterprizes. It was with this View, that he had built the City of *Petersburgh*; with this View he preserved the Provinces of *Livonia* and *Carelia*; with this View he set out upon his Travels; and with this View he had founded the *Caspian Sea*.

The Pretext which the Emperor made use of, to examine this Sea with so much Exactness, was, that he might discover the Mouth of the River *Dania*, and go up to its Source: For this River bringing much Gold with its Stream, he thought he should be able to discover Mines of that Metal, over which the River passed, if it was not brought from the Fountain-Head itself. Those who were charged with this Commission, not only brought back Gold, but reported that when they went ashore, and were got about 150 Leagues to the

North-East, they discovered a great Stone Building, above half covered with Sand; and that entering it, they found Presses of a black hard Sort of Wood, containing near 3000 Volumes, bound in the Form of large Quarto's; which they intended to have brought with them; but the People of the Country opposed it, for Fear that the Structure, which they looked upon as a sacred Monument, should be profaned: Nevertheless, the *Muscovites* found Means to convey away 3 Volumes, which they brought to the City of *Petersburgh*. These Books were large Sheets of a very thick Paper, supposed to be made of Cotton, or the Bark of Trees, laid over with two Varnishes, one blue and the other black. The Characters seemed well shaped, were not joined together, and were painted in white. The Lines were written horizontally; but being all of an equal Length, it could not be determined whether they ran from the Left to the Right, or from the Right to the Left. Though it was not known from what Nation those Characters were derived, there was Ground to believe they came from the *Calmucks* and *Moguls* to the Westward of *China*; because the Country of the *Calmucks*, in the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries, was the Centre of two large Empires, under the Successors of *Ginghiskan* and *Tamerlane*; among which Princes there were some very learned. Besides the Discovery of this Library, the Peasants in the Neighbourhood produced several Statues in Brass, which they had found in the Middle of the Woods, in the Burying-Places of the *Calmucks*, some of which the Czar reposed in his own Cabinet. Hence it is easy to imagine, that, altho' *Myr-Magmud* had not behaved with the Insolence he did, his Majesty would never have wanted a Pretence to have transported his Army to the Frontiers of *Persia*, which he was now resolved to command in Person, and which consisted of above 100,000 Men, among whom were 33,000 of those Troops which had been in every Campaign during the War with *Sweden*.

His Majesty, before he left *Moscow*, having been again seized with a violent Fit of the Cholick, had, for fear of an Accident, caused a Will, written with his own Hand, and appointing his Successor, to be placed among the Records of the Empire: He changed the Presidents

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of the greatest Part of the Colleges, established a Council of Regency, in which Prince *Mensikoff* presided, and made many other necessary Regulations. He also convoked a General Synod, all the Members of which obliged themselves to declare their most sincere Sentiments, according to their Knowledge, to conform to the Regulations which should be there made. They swore in the most solemn Manner, that they would acknowledge themselves to be the faithful Subjects and Servants of the Emperor *PETER* the First; and after him, of whomsoever his Majesty should declare his Successor in his Will. Having thus caused himself to be acknowledged Sovereign Pontiff of the *Russian* Church, and of Consequence first President of the Synod, he opened it, declaring in general Terms, the Motives that induced him to establish that Assembly. He proceeded to enumerate many Abuses, and to shew the Necessity of having them remedied; and to remove the Cause, by lopping off from the Service of the Church, such Priests and Monks as had introduced or encouraged them; forbidding any Person to be admitted to the Priesthood for the Time to come, who had not Qualities requisite for it, whose Life was not exemplary, and who was not as capable as desirous to undeceive the People. To this End, he ordered the Establishment of Seminaries in the capital Cities of *Russia*, as there were in other Christian Countries. He caused an Enquiry to be made into the Revenues of the Church, which were found to be very rich. But the common People seemed to be much displeased, that the little Chapels were all abolished, and the Images that stood in Niches therein, exposed in the Streets.

The Nobility of the lower Order having made Complaints of their being oppressed by those of higher Rank, his Majesty, before he set out on his Expedition, established an High-Commission Court, to examine into those Grievances. At Length the Emperor and Empress of *Russia* went from *Moscow*, on the 24th of May, for *Colonna*, with Design to continue their Voyage to *Asiatic* by Water. The Grand-Admiral *Apraxin*, Lieutenant-General *Buturlin*, Prince *Trubetskoi*, the Hofpodar *Demetrius Cantemir*, and the Privy-Councillor *Tolstoi*, were gone before. It was at *Colonna* that the Envoy of the

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States-General come to notify to his Majesty the Resolution he had received from their High-Mightinesses, by which they recognized his Title of Emperor. He made his Acknowledgment to the Minister, and declared to him in Return the Orders he had given, that the Ships of *Holland* should be expedited perferably to those of all other Nations.

While this Monarch was going to begin a War at so great a Distance, his Fleet and Troops did not remain idle on the Side of *Poland* and *Prussia*. Admiral *Gordon* put to Sea with the Fleet, while the Troops assembled in *Courland*, *Livonia*, and the *Ukrain*; not with the View of undertaking any Thing, but to check the Design that any neighbouring Princes might have in the Emperor's Absence.

The *Turks* were no sooner informed of the Preparations that were making in the Eastern Provinces of the *Russian Empire*, but they took Umbrage at them. The *Bashaws* who commanded on the Frontiers of *Persia*, gave Advice to the *Porte*, that the Emperor of *Russia* had formed a Project to subdue the Province of *Georgia*, in which Case above 400,000 Musulmans would fall into Slavery; and that it was easy to foresee that the chief View of that Prince, was to make himself Master of the *Caspian Sea*. The Grand Vizier made these Suspicions known to the *Russian Minister* at *Constantinople*, and sent an Aga to his Imperial Majesty, to penetrate into his Designs. The Emperor, upon this, informed the *Porte* of the insolent Behaviour of the Rebel *Myrr-Maghnum*. But the better to make his Intentions known to the *Turks* and *Persians*, he caused a Manifesto to be published, and distributed all along the Borders of the *Caspian Sea*, before he began his Expedition; setting forth, "That he did not come with an Intention to reduce any of the Provinces of *Persia* to his Obedience, but only to maintain the lawful Possessor of them on his Throne, and to defend him against the Tyranny of *Myrr-Maghnum* and his *Tartars*, and from the Mischiefs by them committed within the *Russian Empire*." The *Schah Hussein*, drove from his Capital by *Myrr-Maghnum*, had indeed sent three Expresses to his Imperial Majesty, to implore his Assistance, on Conditions too advantageous

to the *Russians*, for so wise a Prince as *Peter* to neglect.

July the 29th the whole Fleet set sail, to the Number of 274 large Vessels. On the 30th, it arrived at the Mouth of the *Volga*, and on the 31st, at *Ischetyre-Burgeni*. August the 4th, at 9, it came to an Anchor at the Mouth of the River of *Terki*. The same Day Lieutenant *Lapachia* was sent to the *Chefcal* of *Terki*, with Manifesto's printed in the *Turkish* Language. On the 6th News came from Brigadier *Wetteran*, that he had beaten a Body of 5000 Men who were come out of *Andreoff*; and that afterwards he had burnt their City, in which were about 300 Houses. The Ships drew near, on the 7th, to the Mouth of the River of *Agyachan*; and on the 8th, the Admiral made the Signal for landing the Troops. All the Infantry got to the Shore, and encamped about Noon, notwithstanding the Difficulties they met with. On the 16th early, the whole Body of Infantry began their March towards *Tarku*. At three in the Afternoon, on the 17th, the Army came to the Passage at the River *Tarku*; they made two Ferries, and towards Evening the Governors of *Terki* and *May* came to wait upon the Czar. The first brought 600 Waggon for the Baggage, and 150 Oxen for the Soldiers Subsilence, besides three fine *Persian* Horses, with rich Furniture, for his Majesty: The second brought 100 Oxen for the Soldiers, and 6 *Persian* Horses for the Czar.

Being arrived on the 23d within 5 Miles of *Tarku*, the *Chefcal* came out to meet them, and conducted them to the City. At 3 Miles Distance from it they saw the Ruins of a great City, which extended from the Mountains to the Sea-side. Letters came on the 26th from the Governor of *Derbent*, and other Officers of that City, acquainting them, that they had received with great Satisfaction the Czar's Manifesto; expressing their Joy at his Arrival, and assuring, that they would look upon all such of their Inhabitants to be Traitors, who should oppose his Majesty's Troops. On the 28th, the Army passed the River *Manas*, and afterwards that of *Boinac-Arzi*, upon which they found a Bridge of Stone. They saw on the Mountains of this Place several Foundations, which were probably the Remains of an antient City.

At Night they came to *Old Boimat*; and on the 29th encamped near the River *Nitzi*, in Sultan *Untenich's* Dominions. The next Day three *Cossacks* were sent to the Inhabitants, to require them to send a Deputation in order to a Conference: But the Guide being returned, reported they had been very ill received, and that the three *Cossacks* had made their Escape. At 3 in the Afternoon the Sultan came and attacked the *Cossacks*, and afterwards advanced towards the *Dragoons*; who put them presently to Flight, killed 600, and took 39 Prisoners. The Sultan's Residence was plundered and burnt: 6 other Villages had likewise the same Fate, and there they found the three *Cossacks* inhumanly massacred; upon which the Prisoners were put to the Rack. There were among them some Persons of Distinction; who declared, that they did not know the Cause of that Cruelty, but said it was done by Order of the Sultan himself. The Enemy's Number was 10,000.

September the 1st, 21 of the Prisoners were put to Death, by Way of Reprisal, for the Murder of the *Cossacks*. Another Prisoner had his Nose and Ears cut off, and was sent to carry a Letter to the Enemy, reproaching them for their Cruelty. On the 2d, the Army encamped near the River of *Darbach*. A Letter came from the Inhabitants of *Baku*, signifying their Joy at the Czar's Arrival in the Province of *Schirvan*, ardently desiring to commit themselves to his Majesty's Protection. They drew near on the 3d to the Gardens of *Derbent*; and the Governor coming out to meet the Czar, at his Entrance presented him with the Keys. The Army marched through the City, under a triple Salvo of all the Artillery; and afterwards encamped by the Sea Side. They found in *Derbent* 100 old Iron Guns, and 60 Brass, with a great Quantity of Ammunition. The *Russians* were received with as much Joy in this City, as if they had come to deliver their own Troops from some Siege. His Majesty staid there some Time, to give the necessary Orders; while the Army marched towards the River *Millukenti*, 15 Wersts from *Derbent*, without meeting an Enemy. But the Provisions which they had brought with them being almost spent, and it being impossible to have any brought to them by the *Caspian Sea*.

in a Season so far advanced, his Majesty made this River the Boundary of his Conquests for this Year, and, having left a strong Garrison in *Derbent*, returned to *Astracan*. On the 23th of September, the Emperor detached 10,000 *Cossacks* and 4000 *Calmucks*, to ravage the Territories of the Persian *Usmei* and Sultan *Mahmut* of *Utenischof*, by Way of Reprisal for their harassing the Russian Troops in their March. The next Day the *Cossacks* and *Calmucks* joining the *Bougnakes*, immediately fell into their Territories, and after having entirely routed them, put a great Number of the Rebels to the Sword, and took near 400 Prisoners.

During this Expedition, *Myr-Maghmud* did all that was in his Power to cross the Designs of the *Russians*. He had engaged the neighbouring *Tartars* to harass them in their March, and was advanced himself towards *Gilan* with a Body of Troops, which arrived too late for the Czar to engage with them: But the Generals whom he had left at *Derbent*, having got together the *Calmucks*, *Cossacks*, and *Tartars*, that were near, and by posting them with their regular Troops, fell with great Fury upon the Army of the Rebels, that they were soon put to Flight. Some of the Chians, who had seemed to submit, changed their Conduct, as soon as they thought the Emperor at a Distance; others sought the Protection of the *Russians*; and all Things continued in a fluctuating Condition. Mean while their Majesties being returned to *Moscow*, entered that City in Triumph, every Body meeting their victorious Sovereign with the loudest Acclamations.

The Power of the *Russians*, which was shewn in subduing so great a Part of the Country, and especially *Derbent*, the Key of *Persia*, began somewhat to dismay *Myr-Maghmud*. He had a great Number of Enemies in the Bosom of *Persia*, who now saw through his Hypocrisy; and the *Persians*, always faithful to their Kings, could not forgive his having dethroned and drove away *Hussein*. In short, this Rebel could not confide in his *Tartars*, who disapproved his Ambition: He therefore sent an Ambassador to the Grand Signior, to whom he was to remonstrate, that both the Glory and Religion of the Musulmans were interested in opposing

the *Russian* Conquests; that as the Czar had already subdued *Dagestan* and *Schirwan*, he would certainly the next Summer throw his Arms into *Georgia*, where there were several Christian Princes who would lend him a helping Hand; and lastly, that he had been informed, that the *Russians* entered *Perfia* at the Desire of *Muslim*, who had promised to yield to them all they should conquer on the Borders of the *Caspian* Sea. The *Persian* Ambassador acquitted himself well of this Commission, and especially as he was charged with magnificent Presents for the Ministers of the *Porte*. The *Janizaries* and the common People had, for a long Time, breathed nothing but War; the *Muslim* was a declared Enemy to the *Russians*; old *Dowlet-Gerhas*, just set upon the Throne of the *Crimaea*, desired nothing more than an Opportunity of shewing the Hatred he bore them: There was only the Grand Vizier who was for Peace, and he dared not express himself openly, for Fear of irritating the opposite Party; for which Reason, while Preparations were making for War, he sent an Ambassador to the Emperor of *Russia*, to be informed of his Designs. The Emperor answered, that the *Porte* had approved of his having Recourse to Arms, to take Vengeance for the Injuries done to him and his Subjects, by *Mirr-Maghmud* and his Allies; that the *Russians* had undertaken nothing against the Dominions of his Highness; and, in a Word, that he was sincerely disposed to a faithful Observation of the last Treaty of Peace.

But notwithstanding the Grand Signior seemed well satisfied for the present; yet, that all the Blame might be laid on the Czar, if a War should ensue, the Grand Vizier caused a Manifesto to be published, and communicated to the foreign Ministers, declaring his Resolution to support *Flagi Damit*, the Prince of *Dagestan*, who had been driven out of his Territories by the Czar, and had put himself under the Protection of the *Porte*. The Grand Signior also, to shew that he really intended to declare War with *Russia*, caused the Inclinations of the Emperor of *Germany* to be sounded, and an Enquiry to be made, whether he was under any Engagements, in case of a Rupture, to take Arms in Favour of the *Russians*.

flans. On this Occasion the Emperor *Charles* did a very seasonable Service to *Peter*, by assuring the *Turk*, that his Interests were so strongly united to those of the Emperor of *Russia*, that if he was attacked, he should be obliged to march to his Assistance. The Grand Vizier made his Use of this, to moderate the Precipitation of those, who had already prepared a Declaration of War: But nothing went farther towards obliging the Sultan to renounce his Design, than the good Offices of the *Marquis de Bonac*, the Ambassador of *France*, who represented to the *Porte*, That the Sultan had no Reason to complain of the Emperor of *Russia*, since he had not carried the War to the Frontiers of *Persia*, but with his good liking, and to revenge such Insults as no sovereign Prince could suffer with Impunity: That he had acted in nothing contrary to the Treaty of Peace subsisting between him and the *Porte*: That the *Cham Flagi Damit*, who had put himself under the Protection of his Highness, was a Tributary of *Persia*, and a Partizan of *Myrr-Maghmud*: Lastly, that if the *Porte* took Umbrage at the Conquests of the Emperor of *Russia*, he was perfectly disposed not to push them any farther. This Assurance of the Czar's pushing his Conquests no farther, which was all that the *Porte* required, made them lend an Ear to the Offices of *M. de Bonac*, and appear satisfied without the immediate Restitution of *Derbent*.

During this Negotiation, the People of *Ghilan*, a Province of *Persia* bordering on *Schirwan* and the *Caspian* Sea, where *Myrr-Maghmud* had ravaged all the Country to prevent the *Russians* having any Subsistence, had implored the Protection of *Russia*. This News astonishing the *Bashaws* of the neighbouring Provinces, that of *Erzerum* informed the *Porte* of it, with such Circumstances, as made it believed that the *Russians* had a Design upon all *Georgia*; which had like to have overturned all that *Monsieur de Bonac* had been doing: But an Ambassador of the de-throned Schah, who arrived at that Time to implore the Assistance of the *Porte*, and the Assurances of the *Russian* Minister, that his Master should fulfil the Promises of the *French* Ambassador, put a Stop at *Constantinople* to all Thoughts of breaking with *Russia*. In short, the Grand Signior employed against *Persia* itself

The Preparations he had been making, since so favourable an Occasion offered to recover what the *Turks* had formerly possessed beyond the *Euphrates*.

These Affairs, how much soever of his Attention they required, did not prevent the *Russian* Emperor from having a watchful Eye on the State of Affairs at Home: For no sooner was he returned, after a Year's Absence, than he made a Discovery of fresh Criminals; and some of the principal Persons of the Regency were found guilty of Misdemeanors, and condemned to severe Punishments. Baron *Schafiroff*, Vice-Chancellor, Favourite of his Majesty, and first Minister, was arrested, and put to the *Question*. It was commanded, that whoever knew any Thing concerning the Matters laid to his Charge, should declare them upon Pain of Death. He was convicted of the five following Articles: 1st, That he had given to his Brother Appointments unknown to the Emperor and the Senate: 2d, That he had signed Orders unknown to the Senate, without having them registered. 3d, That being Director of the Posts, he had augmented the Postage of Letters, and reserved the Money to himself. 4th, That he had concealed 200,000 Ducats in Specie, and to the Value of 70,000 more in Jewels, belonging to Prince *Gagarin*. 5th, That he had used opprobrious Language to some of the Senators, in full Senate, which was forbid on Pain of Death.

The Evening before the Sentence was to be put in Execution against this Minister, the People were advertised of it; so that great Crowds were assembled by nine o'Clock in the Morning, before the Senate-House, when Baron *Schafiroff* was led to the Scaffold, accompanied by two Priests. His Sentence was read aloud to him, which he heard with great Resignation; and having put his Head on the Block, the Instant the Executioner lifted up the Ax, a Herald cried out, *Mercy to the Criminal for his Life, by Command of his Imperial Majesty*. Upon which he was taken off the Scaffold, and carried back to the Prison of the *Preobrazinski*. The Emperor, in Consideration of his past Services, changed his Sentence of Death into that of perpetual Banishment into *Siberia*, with Confiscation of his Estate and Goods. Other Criminals, as *Kirioff*, Secretary of the Senate, Major-

Major-General *Pijaroff*, and the Baron's Secretary, were differently punished by the Knout, or otherwise. The Fate of Baron *Schafiroff* was attributed more to the Intrigues of Prince *Menzikoff*, whom he had endeavoured to ruin, than to any real Crimes that he had committed.*

The Emperor of *Russia*, after having given Orders to transport Ammunition, Provisions, Artillery, and the necessary Troops to *Asiracan*, against the next Campaign, took the Route to *Petersburgh* in the Beginning of March, 1723, whither the Emperess and all the Court followed him; But before his Departure, he sent Orders to the *Russian* Ecclesiasticks in that City, to compose all Differences between themselves and the reformed Clergy, before his Arrival there; otherwise he would severely punish the Authors of their Divisions, he being firmly resolved to take all Protestant Families under his Protection. This shews how firmly he maintained his Power over the Clergy; no mean Conquest in a Prince! His Majesty was no sooner arrived at *Petersburgh*, than he went to visit the Docks and Ship-Yards, to see the Condition his Ships were in, intending to put a numerous Squadron to Sea the following Summer. He had, moreover, other Views, and was not well satisfied with the Conduct of *Denmark*, which had not only made a separate Peace with *Sweden*, but was in some Manner leagued with the King of *England*. His Majesty had seen the Court of *Denmark*, and was acquainted with her Genius and Ministry, which made him seem resolved to pursue the Dispute with her; 1st, For the Restitution of the Dominions taken from the Duke of *Holstein*; and 2dly, for the Freedom of his Ships in the Sound. The Emperor imagined he now saw a favourable Opportunity to strike this double Blow; for if he beat the *Danish* Squadron, nothing could hinder his making a Descent in *Jutland* and *Holstein*. By this Management, he obliged *Denmark* to run into such Expences every Year, as very much drained their Coffers.

In the Review that his Majesty made of his Navy, he found several Vessels that had been taken from the

* The Baron *Schafiroff* was raised by his Merit, from an ordinary Writer in one of the Courts of Justice at *Moscow*, to the Dignity of Chancellor.

Swedes in the last War, to which he joined others built in the Ports of *Livonia*, and distributed them amongst the Cities of *Petersburgh*, *Riga*, *Revel*, *Wybourg*, and other conquered Places, in Order to have them always employed in Trade. Twelve Men were to be constantly kept in Pay on Board each Ship, 8 being to be furnished by his Majesty, and 4 by the Magistrates, who were to maintain the whole Number: But in Case one of these Ships should be lost, or become unfit for Navigation, the Magistrates were bound to provide a new Ship in Lieu thereof, of the same Kind and Burthen. By this Course, and other like proper Methods, his Majesty hoped to accustom his People, by little and little, to the Affairs of Commerce.

The States of *Sweden* being assembled, his Majesty advised the Duke of *Holstein* to send M. *Bassewitz* thither, to manage his Interests in that Kingdom, which the *Russian* Ministers had Orders to support. That Prince had no longer any Claim to the Succession by Hereditary Right; but he flattered himself that the *Swedes*, who had always cherished the Blood of their Kings, would prefer him to any other, if the Throne should become vacant; and as one good Step towards it, he moved the States to acknowledge him as next of Kin to her present Majesty, and to allow him the Title of *Royal Highness*. The secret Committee, to whose Examination this was referred, made a Report, "That having considered that Affair with all possible Attention, they had found it to be grounded on so many Reasons, that they could not dissuade the Estates and the King from granting the said Title to the Duke of *Holstein*." This Report occasioned great Debates: Some were for having the Business determined on the Spot; but that being opposed, the farther Consideration of it was put off to the Morrow; when the King and Queen wrote each of them a Letter to the States, signifying their great Surprise, that they should appear so ready to give the Title of *Royal Highness* to the Duke of *Holstein*. Their Majesties declared, that they could never consent to it, for Reasons alledged in their Letters. Upon this there arose warmer Debates than before; and not being able to come to a final Resolution, it was judged convenient to invite the Senate

in a Body to a Conference with the Committee, to deliberate conjointly on this Affair. The Senate, meeting on the Day appointed, held a Conference with the Secret Committee; and a few Days after the States being re-assembled, their Opinion was read, containing in Substance, "That having maturely weighed the Reasons for and against this Affair, the Senate could not in Conscience dispense from conforming to the Opinion of the Committee. After reading this Report, it was resolved, without Opposition, to give to the Duke the Title of *Royal Highness* as aforesaid.

The Emperor of *Russia* was very much pleased with the Success of this Negotiation, in regard to the Duke of *Holstein*, whom he intended for one of the Imperial Princesses. And as *Sweden* had now recognized his own Title of EMPEROR, he thought it could no longer be refused by the King of *Denmark*: For which Reason he sent an Order to his Minister at *Copenhagen*, to renew his Instances on the three following Articles. I. That the King of *Denmark* should acknowledge him as Emperor. II. That the *Russian* Vessels should pass the Sound without paying any Duty. III. That his *Danish* Majesty should re-establish the Duke of *Holstein* in the Possession of all his Dominions. These Demands were supported by Orders given to the Admirals, to forward the Equipment of the *Russian* Fleet; insomuch that the *Danes* again expected to be attacked. They armed, and put themselves to great Expences afresh. The Czar went by *Cronstot* to *Revel*, and embarked on Board his Fleet, which set sail in Presence of the whole Court, and all the foreign Ministers. It consisted of 20 Men of War, besides Gallies. But his Majesty deceived the Expectation of all the Speculatists, and contented himself with exercising his Navy, as he had done the Year before, without going out of the Gulf of *Finland*.

Very soon after his Return to *Petersburgh*, all the Grantees, the Foreign Ministers, and Persons of Distinction, were invited by his Majesty to come to *Peterhoff*, his House of Pleasure, in order to celebrate a Feast of an extraordinary Kind. It has been before observed, that when the Emperor *Peter* began to take a Fancy to Strangers, he shewed a particular Inclination to every Thing

Thing concerning Navigation, the Elements of which he learned in sailing on the *Perisslauskv* Lake, with some of his Favourites. Here, for the Diversion of the young Czar, a little Vessel was built, which had, in Miniature, the Form of all the Parts and Rigging of a Man of War. It was this little Vessel that inspired him with the Notion of establishing a Ship-Yard at *Veronis*, and was the Beginning of that formidable Navy which first shewed itself in the *Black Sea* at the Siege of *Azoph*.

In the last Voyage his Majesty made from *Petersburgh* to *Moscow*, he caused a Frigate of his own Building to be brought to this last City, to shew his People; that, by comparing it with their Barks, and the little Skiff he first built, which was still preserved, they might have a perfect Notion of the great Improvements he had made in his Navy. After the *Persian* Expedition, when his Majesty returned to *Petersburgh*, he caused this little Skiff to be transported thither, with a Resolution of preserving it, as a Monument to Posterity, that might shew in what Condition he found his Marine, and to what Perfection he had brought it. His Majesty took this Occasion to give an Entertainment to his Court, which was called, *The Consecration of the Little Grandfire*; for that was the Name he gave to the Skiff. He conducted the Vessel, on a Galliot, in Triumph to *Cron-Flot*, which may be looked upon as the Center of the *Russian* Admiralty. On the 23d of *August*, he ordered, that the Fleet, consisting of 27 Men of War, should be disposed in Form of an Amphitheatre; after which his Majesty went into the *Little Grandfire*, being accompanied by the Great Admiral *Apraxin*, who performed the Office of Quarter Master, and by Admiral *Cruys*, and the Vice-Admirals *Syvers*, *Gordon*, and *Menzikoff*, who served for Rowers. The Skiff being towed by two Shallops, and moving for some Time on the Sea, returned to the View of the Fleet, being saluted by a general Discharge of 3000 Guns; and in passing in Review by the Ships of the Fleet, every one struck his Colours, and saluted it one after another: To which this little Bark answered each Time, by a Discharge of 3 small Guns on Board. The Emperor afterwards landing, went into a Gallery adorned with Pavillions, when he was again saluted by

by a general Discharge of 3000 Guns. The Empress saw this fine Show from the Port, where she was under a Tent with the Ladies of her Court. In the Afternoon she came also, with the Emperor, to see the *Little Grandfire*, which was brought into the Harbour of the Men of War. Upon this there was a great Feast, that lasted till the next Day.

On the 24th their Imperial Majesties went by Water to *Petershoff*, convoyed by all the Flotilla, to the Number of 108 Vessels. The foreign Ministers arrived there at Night, and the next Day the Emperor was so condescending, as to offer himself to shew them *Petershoff*, an elegant Building, and furnished with many valuable Curiosities. His Majesty then carried them along by the Balcon and Cascades to *Montplaisir*, which is a House by the Sea-side, on the Right of *Petershoff*, where he generally lodged; and from thence to *Marli* on the Left, where there are Water-Spouts, each of a Foot in Diameter, which throw the Water up near 40 Foot. Here his Majesty took Leave of the foreign Ministers for the present, telling them, they were welcome to make a fuller Observation of those Curiosities; which when they had done, they went, by the Emperor's Invitation, to dine at the Duke of *Holsheim's* Table, where were present the two Princes of *Hesse Homburg*. On the 26th, their Imperial Majesties gave a splendid Feast to the Nobility of the Court; there being two Tables of 72 Covers each; at one of which sat the Czar and his Lords, and at the other the Czarina and her Ladies. In the Evening his Majesty carried the foreign Ministers, in Coaches, to see the great *Reservoir* which supplied his Water-Works, and the Canal from whence it was supplied, of 21 Wersts in Length, and told them, that it was dug in two Months Time, and derived its Waters from the Conjunction of three little Brooks; but that the completing this Work so soon, was owing to the natural Descent of the Ground. They all returned again to *Petershoff* upon the Canal.

On the 27th the *Little Grandfire* was conveyed thither: But the Wind blowing pretty hard, the foreign Ministers did not return to *Petersburgh* till the 28th, when the *Little Grandfire* was likewise brought thither. And on the

the 10th of the next Month, being the Anniversary of the Peace with *Sweden*, was held a Grand Masquerade, in Vessels surrounding the Galliot that carried the *Little Grandfire*, which was put to Sea with all its Ornaments; and his Majesty embarking thereon, conducted it himself, under the Discharge of all the Artillery, to the Place where it was to be laid up for Posterity.

In the Beginning of *September*, *Ismael Beck*, Ambassador from the King of *Persia*, arrived at *Petersburgh*. Upon Advice that he was come to *Slentelbourg*, his Majesty sent Messieurs *Protassieff* and *Deviciack*, to compliment him in his Name. The same Day he also sent a fine Yacht for the Ambassador, with 3 other Vessels for his Retinue, and 4 Sloops for their Baggage. The next Day the Ambassador went aboard the Yacht, being saluted by the Discharge of 11 Pieces of Cannon; the commanding Officer and Soldiers attending under Arms, and the Drums beating. The Ambassador going down the River *Neva*, sailed through the whole *Flotilla*, which was ranged in Order before *Petersburgh*. As he passed by the Foundery, he was again saluted by 21 Pieces of Cannon, and when arrived before the Palace of Ambassadors, the 13 Guns on board the Yacht were fired also. Afterwards he went on board a Sloop, with M. *Protassieff* and M. *Deviciack*, an Interpreter, and 3 other Persons of his Retinue, while 4 of the *Sophi's* Officers went on board another Sloop. When he came to the Bridge, hard by the Palace of Ambassadors, he landed there, and made his public Entry.

On the 5th the Ambassador had his public Audience, being conducted to it with great Ceremony. Before he entered the Hall, he gave his Hanger and Slippers to his Domesticks, who also left their Sabres, Hangers, and Slippers without. Then, having taken the Letter from his Master out of the Hands of his Secretary, he entered, and made his first Obedience; and advancing near the Throne, he repeated the same Thrice, and made a Speech in the Eastern Stile, full of magnificent and lofty Expressions. Afterwards he presented to the Emperor the *Sophi's* Letter, which his Imperial Majesty gave into the Hands of his Chancellor, who laid it on the Table; and spoke to the Ambassador to approach nearer

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to the Throne. The Ambassador coming forward, on his Knees, kissed the Border of the Emperor's Robe; who presenting his Hand to him to kiss, asked him after the Health of the *Sophi*. To which he answered only by shedding Tears, believing that the old *Schab* was dead, he having been confirmed in his Commission, on the Road, by the young *Schab Tabmas*. The Chancellor told him, that the Ministers of his Imperial Majesty would return him an Answer to the Letter he had presented, and that he should be regaled at the Emperor's Table. Upon which the Ambassador retired backwards till he came to the Entrance of the Hall, where the Officers and the rest of his Train had remained during the Time of the Audience.

Some few Days after, the Emperor received the agreeable News of the Surrender of *Baku*, one of the most important Places on the Coasts of the *Caspian-Sea*, for its Situation, Strength, and Commerce. Major-General *Matouschkin* having set sail from *Astracan*, with 19 Ships, on board which he had embarked with 3000 Men, arrived on the 28th of *July* before the City; and, after having weighed Anchor, dispatched Major *Natshchov* with a Letter to the Governor, accompanied with another from the *Persian* Ambassador, left at *Astracan* when he passed that Way for *Petersburgh*, wherein he exhorts the Inhabitants of *Baku* to put themselves under the Czar's Protection. But the Governor sent a verbal Answer to the Major-General, that he could not admit any *Russian* Troops into the Place, without an express Order from the *Sophi*. The Major-General made reply, that if they persisted to refuse Entrance to his Men, he should be obliged to treat them as Enemies. In short, he caused two Galliot to advance, in order to bombard the Place; but the Inhabitants, to the Number of 1000 Men, well armed, defended themselves with a great deal of Courage to the 8th of *August*, on which Day the Governor sent 7 of the chief Men of the City to declare to the Major General, that he might enter the Town with his Men; and that had it not been for a malecontent Faction, it would have surrendered sooner. For which Reason they intreated his Imperial Majesty to forgive them. The Major General having promised them

them Pardon, entered the City with all the Marks of Honour, and the Acclamations of the Inhabitants. Twenty Pieces of Cannon were found in the Town, with a large Quantity of Ammunition. Great Rejoicings were made at *Petersburgh* on this Occasion; the Place being looked upon of very great Importance, as it would secure the rest of the *Russian* Conquests on the *Caspian-Sea*; and for that Reason, they built large Magazines there, and stored them with all Manner of Provisions.

The *Persian* Ambassador, knowing all that his Master had to fear from the *Turk* and *Myrr-Maghdud*, had frequent Conferences with the Ministers of *Russia*, to solicit a quick and powerful Succour. He was a Man of Spirit, and thought very justly, that he should never be able to obtain the Succours which his Master's Affairs had so much need of, without proposing very advantageous Conditions to the *Russians*; wherefore he offered such Terms, that the Treaty was soon concluded. It consisted of the five following Articles. "1. His *Russian* Majesty promises to his *Persian* Majesty, King *Tachmaseb*, his sincere Friendship and Assistance against the Rebels, that his *Persian* Majesty may be re-established in his Dominions. 2. The King of *Persia* yields for ever to his Czarish Majesty, the Cities of *Derbet* and *Baku*, with all the Countries bordering on the *Caspian-Sea*; as also the Provinces of *Ghilan*, *Mazanderan*, and *Astarabat*. 3. His Czarish Majesty will give Orders to his Generals, to get as many Horses as shall be necessary; with Proviso, that in case a sufficient Number cannot be found, his *Persian* Majesty shall be bound to furnish his Czarish Majesty with as many as he shall want, at the Rate of 12 Roubles a Head; to find Camels gratis, for the Carriage of the Baggage; and to provide for the Subsistence of the Army, on Condition that ready Money be paid for the same. 4. A perpetual Friendship between the two Potentates are herewith established; by Virtue of which, the Subjects on both Sides may freely pass and repass into each Dominion, settle and trade there as they shall think fit: And if in Time to come, they shall have a Mind to remove, they shall be at Liberty to do it without Impediment. 5. His Czarish Majesty promises to take for his own Enemies, all those

that

that are Enemies to the *Persian* Empire; and that he will look upon those that are at Amity with *Persia*, as his own Friends; which the King of *Persia* solemnly promises to observe likewise, with respect to his Czarish Majesty's Enemies and Friends."

The Ambassador would have departed as soon as this Affair was concluded; but the Emperor assured him, it would give him Pleasure if he would repose himself for some Time, and take part in the Diversions of the Season; wherein he behaved as a polite Gentleman, and shewed himself to be of an agreeable Humour. The Czar ordered his Navy, his Arsenals, Magazines, and Country Houses to be shewn him: But he continued in *Russia* no longer than till the End of the Month. On the 25th he had his Audience of Leave; with the same Ceremonies as were observed at his Entry. As soon as he approached the Throne, his Majesty gave the Chancellor the Letter, which he had wrote in Answer to that of the *Schah*, and the Chancellor delivered it to the Ambassador, charging him, on the Part of his Czarish Majesty, that he would assure the *Schah* of the entire Friendship of his Majesty, and his firm Resolution of religiously maintaining the Treaty. The Ambassador having put the Letter on his Head, made another Speech with true *Asiatick* Eloquence; and after being permitted to kiss the Emperor's Hand, crawling on his Knees, he withdrew very well satisfied with all the Honours he had received.

The *Porte* was very soon informed of the Contents of this Treaty, with which she appeared not at all satisfied; from whence it was supposed, that that Court had Views of taking Advantage of the Divisions in *Persia*, by which it might make a more easy Conquest in that Country. Captain *Nieplief*, the *Russian* Minister at *Constantinople*, and the Marquis de *Bonac*, immediately gave notice of the Dispositions that appeared in the Divan to declare War against the *Russians*: Upon which his Imperial Majesty communicated in Form to the *Porte*, the Treaty he had made with the young *Schah*, inviting his Highness to accede to the same; declaring, that he had no other View than to assist an insulted Prince against his rebellious Subject. This Declaration, to which the pacha Vizier gave a good Turn, appeased the Grand Signior.

Signior, who was willing to lend an Ear to the Propositions of M. de Bonac; who, after having renewed the Assurances of his Imperial Majesty's Desire to continue in Peace with his Highness, drew so hideous a Picture of Myrr-Maghmad, and his Designs, that it was not difficult to bring the Grand Signior to approve the Conduct of the Russian Emperor. Nevertheless, many Incidents happened, which very much thwarted the Success that was expected from these Instances. Under Pretence of opposing the excessive Power of the Russians, the Tartars armed all their Forces, and there were great Reasons to fear fresh Hostilities from them. But at length M. de Bonac and Nieplief, knowing how to make the best Use of every Circumstance, brought the Divan to appoint Commissioners to treat of a Convention between the two Empires, with regard to the Affairs of Persia; and the following Articles were agreed to. 1. That the Grand Signior may come off with Honour, the Sophi shall send a solemn Embassy, to desire the Sultan to set Bounds to his Conquests, and to consent that the Emperor of Russia may execute the Treaty which he has of late concluded with him. 2. The Emperor of Russia shall keep whatever lies between the Mountains of Caucasus and the Coasts of the Caspian-Sea, together with Derbent, Baku, Gbilan, Mascan, Ran, and Ferabat, as far as the River Ossia or Ottus. 3. He shall content himself with the meridional Coasts from Gbilan to the River Ossia. 4. A reasonable District shall be allowed to the City of Derbent. 5. The Limits of the two Empires shall be fixed between Samachi and Baku. 6. The Ottoman Empire shall have the Provinces of Erivan, Tauris, and Casbin, as far as its antient Limits of Wan and Argura. 7. As to the other Countries which the Porte lays claim to, Endeavours will be used to satisfy the Grand Signior, especially if he favours Russia in the Article of Trade.

This Treaty, and the other before-mentioned, not only confirmed his new Conquests to the Russian Emperor, but gave him the Prospect of having two rich Provinces on the Coasts of the Caspian Sea, as soon as the Repose of Persia was settled. There was one Way of putting a speedy End to the Troubles in that Country, which was

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to unite the Ottoman and Russian Forces, to drive away Myrr-Maghmad: But it was no easy Matter to engage the Turks to join with Christians, or cure the Jealousy they had of the Russians growing too powerful. However, his Imperial Majesty now saw himself without any Enemies, and free from the Danger of having any soon: But the Hettman of the Cossacks being dead, it occasioned some Disturbance in the Country lying between the Borysthene and the Don. These People sent some of their Colonels to Petersburg, to demand, in a rough Manner, a new Hettman, and the Re-establishment of many Privileges: But his Imperial Majesty soon quieted them, by giving them Prince Galliczin for their Chief, whose Valour and Fidelity he knew he might depend on.

C H A P. V.

The Czar publishes a Proclamation for crowning the Empress. Erects an Academy of Sciences. Ceremonies of the Empress's Coronation. The Emperor falls sick. Causes the Oath to be renewed in Favour of the Empress. Makes some new Regulations, particularly in the Administration of Justice. Dies.

HAVING established Peace on every Side of his Empire, his Majesty began to think of putting the Design in Execution, which he had long formed, of causing his beloved Empress Catharine to be solemnly crowned, in his antient City of Moscow; preparatory to which he published the following Proclamation.

WE Peter I. Emperor and Autocrator of Muscovy, &c. No body is ignorant of the established Custom which has been observed constantly in Christendom, for the Princes to crown their Princesses, as hath for several Ages been the Practice of the Emperors of the true Greek Religion; namely, the Emperor Basiliscus, who caused the Crown to be set on the Head of his Wife Zenobia; the Emperor Justinian, who did the same for his Spouse Lupicina; the Emperor Heraclius,

for

for *Martinea*; the Emperor *Leo* the Philosopher, for his Wife *Mary*; besides many others, whom it would be too tedious to mention here.

'Tis also well known how much we have exposed our own Person, for the Sake of our Country, during the late War, for 21 Years together; which, by the Help of God, we have concluded, in a Manner so honourable and advantageous, that *Russia* never obtained such a Peace, nor acquired so much Glory as was gained by this War. The Empress *Catharine*, our dearest Spouse, was a great Help to us, not only in the said War, but in other Expeditions, in which she accompanied us voluntarily, and served us with her Counsel, as much as was possible, notwithstanding the Weakness of her Sex; particularly at the Battle of *Pruth*, where our Army was reduced to 22,000 Men, while the *Turks* were 220,000 strong. It was in this desperate Circumstance, above all others, that she signalized her Zeal, by a Courage superior to her Sex, as is known throughout the whole Empire. For these Causes, and by Virtue of that Power which God has given us, we are resolved to honour our Spouse with the Imperial Crown, in Acknowledgment for all her Fatigues; which, God willing, shall be performed this Winter at *Moscow*; and we hereby give notice of it to all our loving Subjects, to whom our Imperial Affection is unalterable, &c.

Magnificent Preparations were made for this Grand Ceremony, and his Majesty having invited the foreign Ministers to Court on that Account, entered the Room where they were, accompanied by Chancellor *Goloffkin*, and Messieurs *Tolstoi* and *Osserman*; where, taking his Place in an armed Chair, he spoke to the following Effect in the *Dutch* Language: "You know, Gentlemen, that I had resolved for some Time to take a Journey to *Moscow*, with the Empress my Spouse, which has been prevented by Illness; but it having pleased God to restore my Health, I am now in a Condition to undertake it, and am willing, before my Departure, to desire you, on my Part, to assure your august Masters of my sincere Friendship, and that I will lose no Opportunity of cultivating the same with them. If any one among you
has

has any Commission to execute, he may apply to my Chancellor. I do not doubt but you have received Orders to follow me to *Moscow*: All necessary Preparations are made for your own Conveyance thither, and that of your Domesticks." But this Journey was again deferred for some Time, on Account of the Affairs of *Turky*, where, notwithstanding the last Treaty, warlike Preparations were still making on the Sides of the *Don* and the *Pruth*. It was at this Time that the *Russian* Emperor, who never ceased from the glorious Labour of improving the Minds and Manners of his People, drew up the Plan of an Academy of Sciences and the *Belles-Lettres*, consisting of these 11 Articles. 1. The Academy is to be composed of 12 Members, 1 Secretary, 1 Library Keeper, 4 Interpreters, and 12 Pupils. 2. The Sciences to be taught are divided into 3 Classes; Mathematicks, Physics, and polite Learning. 3. Every one is to dive into those Sciences, and to improve that in particular, which he has made his peculiar Study. All the Members are to examine the Discoveries that shall be proposed to them, and to declare sincerely, whether they are new, useful, and really such as they are given out for. They are to make Extracts out of Books, which they shall think proper for the Improvement of Literature, which they are to put into the Hands of the Secretary, with their Remarks. 4. All the Members are to meet once a Week in private, and three Times a Year in publick. 5. Each Member of this Academy shall write a System of the Science he professes, and have a publick Lecture once a Day. They may also have private Lectures for their own Advantage. 6. Every Member is to have under his Direction a Pupil, who is already advanced in Learning, and who shall have a Pension for his Maintenance; and if he makes considerable Progress, he is to succeed his Tutor. 7. These Pupils shall teach the Beginners the first Elements, and instruct them so far, as they may in Time be capable of improving themselves by the Lectures. 8. The Academy shall be immediately under the Emperor, who has taken it under his Protection; and the Members shall not be liable to appear, without the President's Consent, before any other Court of Justice but their own. 9. The Library, the
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Chamber of Engines, the Cabinet of Anatomy, and that of Medals, shall be for their Use; and the Money requisite for making Experiments will be furnished them. 10. Each Member shall have a Year's Salary before-hand. They shall have free Lodgings, and sufficient Fuel; and those that come from abroad, shall have their travelling Charges defrayed. 11. They shall not be empowered to make any Laws, but with the Consent of the whole Academy.

Before his Majesty's Departure from *Petersburgh*, he received the agreeable News from *Stockholm*, of his Minister's being likely to conclude a Treaty of Alliance with that Court, which would confirm and explain that of *Neistadt*; settle Limits, and whatever concerned Commerce; and guarantee the Titles and Rights of the Duke of *Holstein*. This Treaty being accordingly finished, was signed by his Majesty on the 4th of *March*, the very Day he arrived at *Olonitz*, to drink the Waters of that Place. He and the Empress arrived at *Moscow* on the 1st of *April*, under a triple Discharge of all the Artillery. They found in the City a *Turkish* Aga, with that Nephew of the Marquis de Bonac, who brought with them the Instrument of the Treaty we have before mentioned. The Cham of the *Calmucks* had likewise sent an Ambassador thither, and *Myrr-Maghnud* had contrived to have some *Tartars* there disguised, who, if they had not been discovered, might have disturbed the Solemnity of the Coronation, which was performed on the 18th of *May*. Her Imperial Majesty prepared herself for it, for three Days, by Fasting and Prayer; and the People had notice given them of the Time, on the 16th and 17th, by the Secretary of the Chancery, preceded by an Officer with Drums and Trumpets.

The Cathedral, in which the Coronation was performed, was richly adorned. It was illuminated with a great Number of Branches in Form of Crowns, and there was a very large Silver one in the Middle, of extraordinary Workmanship, full of Wax Candles, all gilt. The Steps of the Altar, and the Pavement of the Church to the Throne, and to the Czarina's usual Seat, were covered with Tapestry wrought with Gold, and the Prelates sat on Benches covered with Crimson Cloth. In the Middle

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of the Church was a Canopy of Crimson Velvet, adorned with the Arms of *Russia*, *Casan*, *Astracan*, and *Siberia*. The Canopy was embroidered with Gold Rais'd-Work, with rich Fringes, Ribbons, Tufts, and Gold Lace; and at the 4 Corners were fine Pillars like Pyramids, covered with Red and Gold Silk. Under this Canopy was the Throne, the Steps and Pavement of which were covered with Crimson Velvet. There were two antique Elbow Chairs in it for their Imperial Majesties, which glitter'd with Precious Stones; and a long Table covered with Cloth of Gold, which hung to the Ground. Their usual Seats in the Church were lined inside and outside with Cloth of Gold, and the Bottom was covered with red Velvet, trimmed with Gold. The Imperial Princesses, the Dutchesse of *Mecklenbourg* and *Courland*, and the Duke of *Holstein*, saw the Ceremony from Places made for them near the Throne, adorned with Tapestry and Cloth of Gold, with an Eagle of Gold embroidered, and sparkling with Jewels. The Officers and Gentlemen made also a fine Appearance.

At 9 o'Clock in the Morning, the Clergy met in the Church, and read the usual Prayers for the Prosperity of both their Imperial Majesties, whom afterwards they went to attend in their Habits, and joined in the Procession, which was very splendid. Prince *Galiczin* and Count *Osserman* carried the Imperial Mantle, which was of Cloth of Gold, lined with Ermin; the Clasp of it adorned with a great Number of large Brilliants. Prince *Dolgoruki* carried the Globe, which was of fine Gold; the Cross adorned with Diamonds, Rubies, Saphires and Emeralds, being the Workmanship of *Old Rome*. Another Privy-Councillor carried the Scepter enamell'd, and adorned with Diamonds and Rubies. General Count *Bruce* carried the Crown, which was covered all over with Brilliants, and fine Oriental Pearls. Among other Precious Stones, there was a true Oriental Ruby, of an uncommon Lustre, as large as a Pigeon's Egg, which supplied the Place of the Globe on the Top of the Crown. The Czar was supported by the Princes *Menzikoff* and *Repin*; and the Czarina was led by the Duke of *Holstein*, attended by the High Admiral, and the Chancellor; her Train being borne by the Princesses *Menzikoff* and

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and *Trubetskoy*, the Countesses *Goloffkin* and *Bruce*. The Nobility, Officers, Guards, and Heralds, made all of them a fine Appearance.

When the Regalia came near the Gate of the Cathedral, all the Archbishops and Clergy went out to the Steps, and two of the Bishops sprinkled the Ornaments with Incense and Holy Water. Then the Clergy marching before them into the Church, the Choir struck up that Psalm, beginning, *Lord I will sing of thy Mercy and of thy Righteousness*. The Duke of *Holslein* having led the Czarina to the Throne, retired to his Place, and the Czar led her to her Seat. When their Majesties were seated, the Prelates sat down likewise; but the Gentlemen and Ladies stood all the Time of the Ceremony. When they had sung the Anthem, the Czar stood up, and taking the Scepter from the Table, ordered the great Marshal to call the Prelates, and enjoin them to proceed to the Coronation: Upon which they advanced towards the Czarina, and the Archbishop of *Novogorod* made this Address to her. *Orthodox and great Empress, most gracious Lady, may it please your Majesty to repeat aloud the Creed of Orthodox Faith, in the Presence of your loyal Subjects*. After having repeated the *Apostles Creed*, her Majesty kneeled down upon a Cushion, and received the Archbishop's Benediction, who consecrated her with the Sign of the Cross, laid his Hands on her, and then taking off his Mitre, recited a Prayer composed for the Occasion. Then the Empress stood up, and the two Archbishops took hold of the Coronation Mantle, and gave it to the Emperor, who, without quitting the Scepter, put it upon the Empress. Then their Imperial Majesties kneeling down again, the Archbishop read another Prayer aloud. After which the Empress rising up, the Emperor took the Crown from the Archbishops, and placed it on her Head; but still kept the Scepter in his Hand. Then the Archbishop pronounced their Benediction, *In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. While the Czar was still standing with his Scepter in his Hand, the Archbishop put the Imperial Globe into the Empress's Hand: and then their Majesties sat down, and received the Compliments both of the Clergy and Laity, while the Choir sung the usual Anthem for their prof-

prosperous Reign: After which there was a general Salvo of all the Artillery, and the Bells of all the Churches were rung, as is directed in the Liturgy.

This done, their Majesties being conducted from the Throne with the same Ceremonies as they ascended, went up to the Foot of the Altar, and from thence to their usual Seats. During the Liturgy, the Empress sometimes took off her Crown; which was committed to the Secretary of the Cabinet. After the Prayers for the Communion were sung, the Czar led the Empress, upon a Walk of red Velvet doubled, and Terebinty work'd with Gold, to the Sanctuary, where she kneeled on a Cushion embroidered with Gold. Two Bishops carried the Holy Oil in separate Vessels, and an Archbishop anointed the Empress on the Fore-head, Breast, and Hand, repeating at each, *In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. Other Archbishops wiped her with Cotton, and put it in a Chasing-Dish upon the Altar. The Archdeacon, who attended with the Holy Sacrament in a Pyx, said aloud, *Approach with Piety and Faith*: upon which she received the consecrated Bread from the Archbishop, with a little warm Wine. Two Arch-Priests of the Cathedral carried a Basin of Gold. The Archimandrite of the *Trinity Monastery* held a Gold Ewer full of Water, and two other Abbots held the Napkin for her Majesty to wipe her Hands. Which done, their Majesties returned to their Seat in the Church; and there was a second Salvo of the Cannon. At the Close of the Service, *They* too, A choir of *Plavsky*, made an Hymn, in which he had mentioned the Virtues of the Empress, and showed how well she had deserved the Crown which she had received from God and her Subjects; and concluded with his Congratulation, in the Name of the State of the Country.

When this Office was over, the Duke of *Holslein* went to wait upon the Empress to the other Cathedral, to which she walked much in the same Order as she came from the Palace, under a rich Canopy, supported by six Major Generals on Poles of massive Silver. The Scepter and Globe were carried before her, and her Train was led up by the Ladies. At her going out of the Church, the Kettle Drum and Trumpets sounded; there

was a third Salvo of the Cannon, and the Bells rung in all the Churches, while the Shouts of the Multitude rent the Skies. Prince *Menzikoff* walked just behind the Empress, supported by the President of the Finances, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, each carrying a Purse of red Velvet embroidered with Gold, in which were Medals of Gold and Silver, which the Prince threw out among the Populace, while the Empress walked to the other Cathedral. As soon as she came to the Door, an Archbishop met and walked before her with a Crucifix, while the Litanies were singing, and the Empress went and paid her Devotions at the Tomb of the Czarewicz *Demetrius*, and those of the Czar's glorious Ancestors.

From thence she went to the Monastery of *Wofnesenki*, the Place of Interment for the Ladies of the Imperial Blood. She was preceded by, I. The Emperor's Horse Guards in green Coats and red Waistcoats, richly laced with Gold, and adorn'd with the Emperor's Coat of Arms in Embroidery. Their Arms and Furniture were equally rich. II. Twenty four Valets; their Coats green, fac'd with red, their red Waistcoats spread with Gold and Silver Lace. III. Twelve Pages in green Liveries, the Facings and Vest of Cloth of Gold. Then came the Empress in a Coach drawn by 8 Horses, and 4 Footmen running before. Above 16 Heydukes marching on both Sides the Coach, at a proper Distance from the Chamberlains, and other Officers of the Court, who were all splendidly dressed. Lieutenant-General *Lefly* rode behind the Coach, with 2 Herald's at Arms, and threw Money to the People. Then came six Negroes dress'd in black Velvet, edged with Gold; followed by the Counts *Apraxin* and *Soloffkin* in a Coach and Six, who conducted the Empress to the Gate of the Monastery, where she was received by an Archbishop carrying a Crucifix, attended by all the Nuns, and her Train was held up by five Ladies of the second Rank. After she had performed her Devotion at the Tombs of the Ladies of the Imperial Family, she returned to the Imperial Palace, where the Duke of *Holslein* handed her out of the Coach, and had her to his Apartment. Here the Czar expected her, while the Service was getting ready in the Hall of Solemnities.

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This Hall, for its Bigness and Ornaments, is one of the finest in *Europe*; and the Windows, being proportionably large, make it very Light. The Roof rests upon one single Pillar in the Middle. The Cornices, Pedestals, and all the Wainscot, which are of curious Workmanship, are hung with red Velvet and Cloth of Gold, flowered at *China*, and the Floor was covered with *Persian* Carpets of an extraordinary Beauty. A Place was made for the Imperial Princesses, and the Dutcheffes of *Mecklenbourg* and *Courland* to see the Solemnity, which was hung with Cloth adorned with Gold Fringe, and Abundance of Ribbons. Round the Pillar a Table was set with Vessels of Gold and Silver, the Workmanship of *Grecia* and *Rome*, adorned with Pearls of the East, and precious Stones. The Table where their Majesties were to eat, was set upon a raised Floor spread with red Velvet and Gold Lace, under a Canopy of the same hung with Ribbons. The Table where the Duke of *Holslein* was to eat alone, was on the Left. There was another beyond for Persons of the first Quality, who assisted at the Coronation; and a third on the same Side for the chief secular Prelates, who officiated likewise. Over against this there was one for the Ladies and Gentlewomen, and a Theatre for the Musick.

The Procession entered this Hall in the following Order. I. The Masters of the Ceremonies. II. The two great Cup Bearers. III. The great Steward, followed by the Grand Marshal. IV. The Czar and his two Supporters. V. The Czarina, led by the Duke of *Holslein*, and supported as in the former Procession. VI. The Chief Ladies of Quality, with the Czarina's Maids of Honour. The other Persons of Note of both Sexes, Clergy and Laity, placed themselves in two Rows on both Sides. When their Majesties were under the Canopy, the Blessing was given by an Archbishop, and then the whole Company took their proper Places. The Dishes were laid on by the Czar's Lieutenant-Generals; and as often as he called for a fresh Course, the Grand Marshal gave the Word to the Master of the Ceremonies to go out, who was followed by the Officers in waiting, after whom went the chief Carver, and then the Grand Marshal. The Dishes were carried up in the following Order.

Order. 1. The Grand Marshal. 2. The Great Steward. 3. The chief Carver. 4. The Officers who carried the Service; and 5. The Master of the Ceremonies. The great Steward ranged the Dishes, and took them off, and at every Time bent the Knee, and the others who waited on their Majesties, served them on the Knee. They eat and drank out of Gold, and the Pyramids of Sweetmeats were brought in Basins of Gold. The Duke of *Holslein* too was served by Officers of the first Rank. At the same Time a Stage was erected before the Hall, where the Fountains ran with red and white Wines; and Oxen, and all Manner of Fowls were roasted for the Populace. Before the Court rose from the Table, Prince *Mensikov* distributed great Medals of Gold, representing the Coronation, to all the Persons of Distinction who assisted at it; and then their Majesties returned to their Apartments, in the same Order as they came.

This Solemnity over, his Majesty pursued his usual Endeavours to encourage the Commerce of his Subjects, and to advance them in Arts and Sciences: For the Increase of the latter, he caused a strict Search to be made for all the ancient *Greek* Manuscripts, that had been hid for many Ages in the Convents, by Reason of the Ignorance of the Monks. It was found that many of these Manuscripts had been sent to *Petersburgh* by Means of the House of *Moldavia*, in whose Country many of the learned *Greeks*, who fled from the Tyranny of the *Turks*, were well entertained, and enabled to go from thence to *Moscow*. His Majesty made also several wise Regulations, and, as Mr. *Vatsovella* says, DARED to retrench the Churches and Monasteries that were too rich. He ordered. 1. That for the future, no more than 50 Monasteries for Men should be allowed throughout all *Russia*. 2. That in each Cloyster, or Monastery, the Number of Monks should not be above 50, tho' it might be under. 3. That no Monk under 40 Years should be received into a Cloyster, and that for each of them no more than one Rouble per Week should be allowed to subsist on. 4. That the Monks who were at present under 40 Years, should immediately go out of the Cloysters, and be employed in some publick Affairs. And as there were many 100 Cloysters in *Russia*, the Revenues of which amounted to

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several Millions of Roubles, they should be appropriated to the public Treasury.

At the latter End of the Year, his Majesty invited the foreign Ministers, and Nobility, to the Ceremony of betrothing the Princess *Anna Petrovna* to the Duke of *Holslein*; the Emperor himself joining the illustrious Pair, by exchanging the Rings, giving them a Kiss, and wishing them a long Life: After which the Archbishop of *Novogorod* gave them his Blessing, in a few Words. The Ceremony was closed with the joyful Acclamations of the whole Assembly. The betrothed Princess presented afterwards a Glas of Wine to both their Majesties, to the Duke her future Spouse, and to the principal Lords and Ladies, from whom she received the Compliments of Congratulation. The Feast was preceded by a curious Firework, and followed with a Ball. Two Days after, the Colleges waited upon his Royal Highness with their Compliments. The foreign Ministers did the same, and were entertained at Dinner, together with Admiral *Aprexin*, Field-Marshal *Repin*, Attorney-General *Jegusinski*, and others. Great Rejoicings were made all over *Petersburgh* on this Occasion; and his Majesty purchased the Palace formerly belonging to the Admiral *Aprexin*, for the Residence of the Duke and his future Spouse.

But a sudden Damp was put to all this Joy, by the Apprehensions of the greatest Calamity that could befall the Nation, even the Loss of that great Prince, who was truly the Father of his Country: For on the 16th of *January*, he was attended with a violent Cold, which brought on him a Fit of the Cholick, and that being followed by a Strangury, occasioned by an Abscess in the Neck of his Bladder, he continued in great Misery for a Week, without being once in Bed, when his Physicians thought proper to break the Abscess with a Probe; which indeed discharged a great deal of Matter, and gave him much Ease, with Hopes of Recovery: But the Application being made too late, he suffered most violent Torture for 4 Days more, and then expired, on the 29th of *January*, 1725, in the 53d Year of his Age; giving all the Tokens of a perfect Resignation to the Will of Heaven, and behaving with the same Courage and Piety that accompanied all his Actions. Even in the

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Extremity of these painful Disorders, he laid out some Time in providing for the Safety of his People, which could be no Way better confirmed, than in the Choice he had made of a Successor: and when he found his End approaching, he gave Orders that the Oath should be again administered, which was formerly taken in Behalf of the Empress. When the Senators and Bishops, who visited him in this sickness, mentioned the Obligations which the *Russian* Nation lay under to him, for raising it to so considerable a Figure, by reforming such a Variety of bad Customs, and introducing so many Arts and Sciences; he told them, that he had forgot to reform one of the most important Points of all, the ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE; because Law-Suits in *Christianism* last for Years, and even Ages together, with an infinite Expence; and all this is occasioned by the tedious Pleading of the Lawyers, who perplex human Laws in the same Manner as too many Divines do the Law of God, instead of explaining it. To remedy this, he determined, that Causes (as among the *Turks*) should be carried at first to the Tribunal of the Magistrate, or ordinary Judge; that Proof in Writing, and Witnesses should be produced, and the Characters of the latter should be particularly examined, and so an impartial Judgment should be pronounced; all which would be finished in a few Hours: But if the Party condemned should think himself injur'd, he might appeal from this Sentence to the Senate, or Synod, and, even after a second Judgment, to the Sovereign himself. Those that were present applauding this Scheme, he commanded an Order to be drawn up, which he signed in his Bed, and it was sent immediately to all the Courts of his Empire. This Order limited the Determination of all Causes to the Term of 11 Days, and in Consequence of it, all the Suits then depending were decided before he closed his Eyes, which was on the 12th Day from his being first taken ill.

The Princess *Natalia Petrowna*, the Emperor's 3d Daughter by the Empress *Catharine*, dying on the 15th of *March* following, the Funeral Obsequies of both Father and Daughter were performed on the 21st, with most extraordinary Pomp, of which the following is a short Detail.

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A Harbinger of the Court on Horseback. Chief Master of the Ceremonies, holding a Marshal's Staff. Four Pair of Kettle-Drums, each Pair followed by 12 Trumpets, 3 a-breast. Four Hautboys, and four Pair of Kettle-Drums more. Thirty-six Pages. Their Governor. Thirty-six Officers of the Court. Marshal of the Merchants. Thirty-six Foreign Ministers. Marshal of the Deputies. Twenty-one Deputies from the conquered Towns. Marshal of the Nobility. Twenty one Noblemen from the conquered Provinces. A 2d Harbinger. A 4th Marshal. The Standard of War. The late Emperor's War-Horse, with a Saddle of yellow Velvet, adorned with Pearls and Diamonds. Thirty-two Standards of the Provinces, with the Arms of each Province, conducted by a Captain. Thirty-two Horses caparisoned in black, with the Arms of the Provinces, conducted by two Lieutenants. The Flag of the Admiralty. The Standard of the Empire. The Horse of the Empire, led by two Lieutenant-Colonels. A white Standard, with Inscriptions. The Horse of State without a Saddle, richly adorned. A Gentleman on Horseback, completely armed, and followed by two Halberdiers. A Cuirassier on Foot. A black Standard. The Mourning Horse. Great Master of the Ceremonies. The Arms of *Siberia*, *Astracan*, *Casan*, *Novogorod*, *Volodimir*, *Kiow*, and *Moscow*. The same Arms, but larger. The Imperial Cross. Seventy Cherikers. Fifty Monks. Twenty Priests. Fourscore Priests and Abbots. Eight Bishops and Archbishops. Two Marshals. The Archducal Crown, carried by Major-General *Goltzwin*. The Corpse of the Princess *Natalia*, carried by 16 Majors; the Canopy supported by 6 Lieutenant-Colonels, and the Pall held up by 4 Brigadiers. Two Herald's of Arms. Four Swords of the Empire. The Order of the White-Eagle. The Order of *Denmark*. The Order of *Russia*. The Crown of *Siberia*. The Crown of *Astracan*. The Crown of *Casan*. The Imperial Globe. The Imperial Scepter. The Imperial Crown of *Russia*. Three Marshals. Two Majors, with their Swords pointed towards the Ground, attended by 100 Halberdiers. The Corpse of the Emperor, drawn by 8 Horses, caparison'd with black Velvet, with 8 Colonels, and 8 Gentlemen of the Horse on

each Side: Twelve Colonels conducted the Corps; 8 Brigadiers held up the Tails of the Canopy; which was supported by 8 Major-Generals: The four Corners of the Pall were supported by Privy-Councillors. Three Marshals. The Empress on Foot, led by Prince *Menzeloff*, and Admiral *Apraxin*. The Princesses *Anen Petrovna*, and *Elizabet Petrovna*; the Dutchess of *Mecklenbourg*, and the Princess *Praskovia Ioannovna*. The Princess *Liovvina Navaskin*. The Duke of *Holstein*. The Great Duke *Alexiewitz*. The two Princes *Liovvina Navaskin*. The Officers of the Court. A Marshal. The Ladies of the Empress's Court. Those of the two Princesses. The rest of the Court Ladies. The other Ladies. A Marshal. The Officers of the Colleges. A Marshal. The Bowyers and Gentlemen. A Marshal. The Burghers. The Harbingers. All the great Personages were properly led, and their Trains supported: The *Regalia* were carried by the great Officers of State and the Army, and the whole was in a Manner surprisngly Magnificent.

Thus did this Sun of Glory set, after illuminating the whole Northern World. We, says Mr. *Hill*, who had the Honour to live Cotemporaries with this egregious Spirit, were deadened in our Sense of his true Greatness, by the Nearness and Familiarity with which we observed it. But when, from the Distance of descending Ages, our Posterity shall look up towards the Records of the present Generation, and enquire in vain for the very Names of some prouder Princes, who reigned with him; His Memory, and the Splendor of his never-to-be-forgotten Glory, shall cast a Brightness over his *Aera*, and Millions not yet to be born, till a Thousand Years after his Death, shall remain ignorant of what passed in the Days of their Grandfathers, while they shall be more learned and enlightened than we are in the Character, the Purposes, the Actions, and the Virtues of this illustrious Dignifier of Human Nature.

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100 lb H. - 120 lb S.
102 lb H. - 100 lb S. Hart.

100 lb - 100 -

122 lb.

100 - 120 -
20 lb

James Wrightwick

Russia
hist. principis

